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EDITED FOR THE TRUSTEES BY
MILLAR BURROWS AND E. A. SPEISER

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1934

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EXPLORATIONS IN EASTERN PALESTINE, I

NELSON GLUECK
HEBREW UNION COLLEGE

In 1868 at Kh. Dhibân (103 on the map), the biblical Dîbôn, there was discovered the famous Moabite stone, written by Mesha the Dibonite, king of Moab. In this inscription Mesha tells how he rebelled successfully against the House of Omri and recovered his cities, particularly those north of the Arnon, from the Israelites. He relates furthermore, among other things, that he erected new towns and built a highway by the Arnon river. This inscription, written in the ancient North-Semitic script, in a language which is virtually Hebrew, added much to our scanty knowledge about the Omri Dynasty and about the history and religion of the Moabites. Otherwise information about them had to be gained chiefly from biblical references. The earliest reference elsewhere occurs in the inscriptions of Ramses II,¹ who mentions Moab in the list of his conquests. The Moabites were entrenched in Eastern Palestine by the time of the exodus of the Israelites and played a more or less important rôle in history down to about the sixth century B. C. Moab, in the Early Iron Age, was a civilized land, dotted with important fortresses and towns, which were joined together by much-traveled highways. It was possessed of considerable wealth, as is apparent from the Bible and the Moabite stone. The biblical records tell us that it was the prosperity and pride of the Moabites which brought down on them the wrath of Yahweh.²

In 1930 at Kh. Bâlû'ah, about seven kilometres south of the Arnon river, at a point almost exactly opposite Dhibân on the north side, a remarkable stela was found by Mr. Reginald G. Head, of the Department of Antiquities of Transjordan. Egyptianized figures were depicted on it.³ There was also at the top a four-line inscription which is illegible because the surface of the stone has been weathered. It was determined, however, that it was an alphabetiform script, which has no close resemblance to any known system of writing.⁴ In 1851 de Saulcy had discovered the famous stela of Rujm el-'Abd, which is about ten kilometres west of Bâlû'ah.⁵ On it was depicted the pseudo-

¹ The reference to Moab in Egyptian records was first discovered by the late Melvin Grove Kyle. See Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, Vol. III, p. 28.

² Isa. 6. 16; Jer. 48. 11, 29; Zeph. 2. 10.

³ RB, 1932, pp. 417-44; 1933, pp. 353-62; *Bulletin*, No. 43, pp. 21-2; 49, p. 28; 51, pp. 10-7; 52, p. 19; PEFQS, April 1934, pp. 76-85.

⁴ *Bulletin*, No. 49, p. 28.

⁵ *Bulletin*, No. 14, p. 9; 49, p. 28; RB, 1932, p. 434, pl. XIV, fig. 1; AOBAT, fig. 617.

Hittite figure of a warrior or god. It was becoming increasingly evident that an archaeological survey of Transjordan was necessary to locate ancient settlements and highways, in an attempt to determine through new archaeological materials the number and nature of the civilizations which rose and fell there and the cultural influences which they exerted and received.

Such a survey was commenced in 1932 and continued in 1933 by the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, with the active cooperation of the Transjordan Department of Antiquities. During December 1932 an expedition was undertaken through the desert of eastern Transjordan from Mafrāq to Kilwa.⁶ In addition to the writer the members of the expedition were Mr. George Horsfield, Advisor to the Transjordan Department of Antiquities, Mrs. George Horsfield, Mr. R. G. Head, Inspector of Antiquities, Mr. A. Henry Detweiler, Mrs. Nelson Glueck, and Miss Ann Fuller. The expedition was indebted to the Chief British Resident in Transjordan, Lt. Col. C. H. Cox, C. M. G., D. S. Q., and to Col. F. G. Peake, C. B. E., head of the Arab Legion, for placing at its disposal an army truck, with a guard of an officer and six soldiers, because of the dangerous country through which the expedition passed. In the spring and summer of 1933 three more survey trips were undertaken, lasting respectively from May 16 to May 23, May 27 to June 4, and July 8 to July 16. During the first trip we had with us Mr. and Mrs. George Horsfield, Mr. R. G. Head, Mrs. Nelson Glueck, 'Alī Abū Ghōsh, Ilyās Tutunjian, and Adīb Meḥeyil. During the second trip we were accompanied by Mr. R. G. Head and Ilyās Tutunjian, and during the third trip by the same group with the addition of Mr. Horsfield and Adīb Meḥeyil. To all of them we wish to express here also our hearty thanks for their unflagging efforts in behalf of the work undertaken. We are particularly indebted to Mr. George Horsfield and to Mr. R. G. Head for their wholehearted support and active cooperation. Mr. A. Henry Detweiler, Miss Ann Fuller, and Dr. William F. Stinespring photographed the pottery and the various small objects found. The sherds were drawn to scale by Mr. Charles P. Kent and checked by Mr. Detweiler. The plans and the map were drawn by Mr. Head. The plans were prepared for publication by Mr. Detweiler, who also did the drawings of the figurines. The plans of Bāyir Wells and Qaṣr Meshish were drawn by Mr. Horsfield. We are deeply indebted to Professor William F. Albright, who looked over the plans and the manuscript carefully and made a number of suggestions which have been incorporated. We also consulted him, as well as Père H. Vincent and Professor Clarence S. Fisher, with regard to the pottery which was found, and are glad to say that all of us were in general agreement as to the dating of the pottery.

* * *

⁶ AJA, 1933, pp. 381-85; *Bulletin*, No. 50, pp. 8, 9.

Most of the sites examined were in the area of ancient Moab between the Dead Sea and that part of the desert bounded by the north-south line of the Hejâz railway. Some of them, however, were in the southern part of the territory of Ammon, and a number of them in the northern part of the land of Edom. All of the places visited had to be gone over carefully, even when they had been previously visited and described, because of the necessity of studying the sherds which are to be found strewn over almost every ancient site. From the surface finds of pottery or fragments of pottery alone, it is now possible to determine with a considerable degree of accuracy the age to which a particular place belongs, even when all other indications are missing.⁷ The new study of pottery in Palestine has been placed on a scientific basis in recent years by the work of several scholars, particularly Père H. Vincent and Professors William F. Albright and Clarence S. Fisher. Naturally the results of their studies are applicable to the pottery of Eastern Palestine, as Transjordan should be called.⁸

The recent archaeological survey of Eastern Palestine was really commenced by Albright. In 1929 he discovered a line of Early and Middle Bronze Age mounds, some of them of great size, running down along the eastern edge of Gilead, between the desert and the forests of Gilead.⁹ He also discovered a Bronze Age site at Ader in eastern Moab in 1924¹⁰ and undertook some important excavations there in November 1933.¹¹ At Kerak in 1924 he discovered Early Iron pottery of the distinctive Moabite type,¹² which we found subsequently on a considerable number of sites in Moab. In the summer of 1931 he visited 'Arâ'ir, finding sherds there from EB III and MB I, a few from Early Iron, besides numerous Byzantine and Arabic sherds. At Dhîbân, after a prolonged search, he found only a few sherds of Early Iron. At Jâlûl, east of Mâdebâ, he found sherds of the MB, LB, EI I-II, Byzantine, and early mediaeval Arabic periods. At a site some four kilometres southwest of Ruṣeifeh, which rises above the left bank of the Wâdî Ruṣeifeh, he found sherds belonging to EB III and MB I.¹³ To the list of these sites discovered by Albright, we are now able to add a large number of additional ones.

The areas which we examined are, or were, comparatively fertile. Often traces of three or four ancient settlements from different ages could be found in the same place. Indeed, because of the limited area and the comparative scarcity of sources of water and, furthermore, because of the geographical nature of the country, the places where settled life is possible are limited. There is practically a physical compulsion necessitating the presence of Roman,

⁷ APB, p. 85.

⁸ APB, pp. 142, 224; *Bulletin*, No. 35, p. 10 ff.

⁹ APB, pp. 142, 224; *Bulletin*, No. 14, p. 10.

¹⁰ *Bulletin*, No. 53, pp. 13-18.

¹¹ *Bulletin*, No. 14, pp. 10-11.

¹² *Bulletin*, No. 49, pp. 28-9.

Nabataean, Iron and Bronze Age settlements on top of each other or adjacent to one another, not to mention those from later periods and sometimes from prehistoric times. The wonder is not that there were so many different periods of time represented on one site, but that there were a number of sites which were settled in one particular age, abandoned, and never again reoccupied. Trajan's road, which led southward from Boṣrā to 'Ammān, and thence through Kerak, esh-Shōbek, Udrūḥ, and Ṣādaqah to 'Aqabah, and which is still remarkably well preserved in many places, marks practically the same route of trade and line of settlements as that which can be traced from about 2200 B. C. down to the Roman period. Similarly, important highways connecting ancient settlements can be traced along the main east and west divisions of central Transjordan. These divisions are created in the main by the Wādī el-Ḥesā and the Wādī el-Môjib. The waters of the former, known in biblical times as the Zered, flow into the southeastern end of the Dead Sea. Those of the latter, known in biblical times as the Arnon, flow north, north-west, and then west into the Dead Sea, opposite Engedi. Another important east-west division is caused by the Wādī eth-Themed and the Seil Heidân, the eastern and western sections of the same *wādī*, which runs west-southwest, till it joins the Wādī el-Môjib shortly before it meets the Dead Sea. Other sites were found along smaller *wādīs*, where water could be obtained.

May 16, 1933. Between 'Ammān and the Wādī eth-Themed a large number of sites were examined. Ten kilometres south of 'Ammān lies Jāwah (1 on the map), on the summit of a high hill. Oriented east and west, the site measures about two hundred by a hundred metres. There are traces of a city-wall surrounding it. This wall is most clearly defined on the north side, with traces of a revetment on the slope immediately below it. Several cisterns were found outside the wall, at the foot of the slope on the eastern side. There are definite traces of ancient terracing on the sides of the hill beneath the mound on its summit. The top of the mound had been freshly ploughed when we visited it; nevertheless a number of sherds were recovered.¹² Most of them belong to a clear EI I context, while others extend down into EI II. One EB III sherd, belonging to a shallow bowl with an inverted rim,¹³ was found, in addition to a number of glazed Arabic sherds.

From Jāwah we proceeded thirteen kilometres south to el-Qaṣṭal (2), a

¹² The characteristic sherds of all the sites examined have been drawn to scale and photographed. Only a few plates of drawings and photographs can be published now, however, because of lack of space. It is hoped to publish as soon as possible a subsequent report dealing solely with the pottery found on the sites reported on in this paper.

¹³ ANNUAL XII, pl. 3, no. 18-9; XIII, pl. 20, no. 37.

large site, originally Roman, whose ruins have already been reported adequately for the most part.¹⁴ No sherds preceding the Roman period were found. The majority of the sherds were mediaeval and modern Arabic. In a rebuilt wall in one of the buildings we found several stones, on the faces of which rosettes and swastika designs had been carved. A complete piece of a twin half-column moulding was found, similar to those to be seen at Qasr Kharāneh and to those of the building of the same period on the acropolis at 'Ammān, where an Italian expedition has recently been conducting excavations.¹⁵ A small pillar, similar to those on top of the tower of the Praetorium,¹⁶ was found in the débris at the base of the tower. A number of Byzantine mosaic floors were partly visible in the courtyard of a modern house.

The next stop was made at el-Meshettā¹⁷ (3), and two kilometres to the south of it we halted at Zobāyer el-'Enfedān (4). Several small mounds, a number of caves, and a large cistern were visible there. Thirteen kilometres farther on to the south-southeast we came to el-Qeneitrah (5), a large site, much like Zobāyer el-'Enfedān. Several Nabataean sherds and a quantity of Roman and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found. Twelve kilometres southeast of el-Qeneitrah lies Rujm esh-Shīd (6), at the head of the Wādī el-Ḥammām. It is a small tower, about five metres square, made of well-cut limestone blocks. The walls are preserved to a height of four courses. On the bottom course on the eastern side is a faint line of Thamudic inscription.

May 23. At Jalūl¹⁸ (50), five kilometres east of Mādebā, is a large mound commanding the surrounding plains and visible for considerable distances around. On the top surface and slopes of the mound, particularly on the northwestern and western sides, quantities of sherds were found belonging for the most part to EI I-II, although some dated from MB and LB. Several Nabataean sherds were found, one large piece of sigillata ware, and numerous sherds belonging to the Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic periods. To the south of the mound lies the modern Arabic village, built over previous Byzantine and early Arabic settlements. An interesting stone moulding was found built into the western wall of a large modern building in the village. On it were carved an altar, a rosette, and a wreath. The latter two are much like similar decorations which we found at Kh. Barzah¹⁹ and at Fiq.²⁰ On the southern slope of the mound, inside a small ruined stone building, two fragments of a large stone plaque were found on which a worn floral design was visible.

¹⁴ PA II, pp. 95-103.

¹⁵ PA II, pl. XLIX, fig. 840a.

¹⁶ PA II, p. 100.

¹⁷ PA II, pp. 105-76; M, pp. 190-205.

¹⁸ *Bulletin*, No. 49, p. 28.

¹⁹ See below, p. 51.

²⁰ *Bulletin*, No. 19, p. 18; 50, p. 11.

Five kilometres west of Jalûl we came to Mâdebâ.²¹ On the low mound at the southeast corner of the town we found a number of Nabataean and Roman sherds, and also some fragments of early Arabic pottery. Twelve kilometres north of Mâdebâ lies Ḥesbân ²² (51), on the top and sides of a high hill. The top of the hill is covered primarily with Roman ruins, over and next to which some later Arabic ruins are visible. Although the site was carefully examined for pottery remains indicative of the early history of Ḥeshbôn, only one sherd was found belonging to EI I. A few nondescript sherds were picked up which may have been Nabataean and Roman, and a number of pieces of sigillata ware were found. There were large quantities of mediaeval Arabic glazed and painted sherds. We remained only long enough to scour the slopes and tops of the hill for sherds.

Three kilometres north-northeast of Ḥesbân lies el-ʿÂl (52), the ruins of which cover the top and part of the slopes of a high hill.²³ On the west slope stands part of a Bronze Age wall, which is still six courses high and eleven metres long. It is made of large, roughly dressed, much-weathered limestone blocks and is similar in appearance to the Bronze Age walls at ʿAmmân and Irbid. No Bronze Age sherds were found. There were numerous sherds, however, from EI I-II, including decorated Moabite ware.²⁴ Several burnished Hellenistic sherds, some sigillata ware, and quantities of mediaeval Arabic sherds were also picked up. A number of modern Arab graves are on top of the hill.

May 27. Seven kilometres northeast of Ḥesbân lies the large, conspicuous mound of Kh. el-Yadûdeh ²⁵ (53). On the top of it there is now a walled village, which belongs to a Christian family from es-Salt. Jâwah lies two kilometres to the northeast. Kh. el-Yadûdeh is strategically situated in a large, comparatively fertile plain, on the west side of the road from ʿAmmân. It seems likely that it was occupied in the Bronze Age or in the Iron Age. No sherds from these periods could be discovered, however, because of the masses of modern débris which cover the top and slopes of the mound. One painted Nabataean sherd was found, several Byzantine pieces, and a number of mediaeval Arabic sherds. At the foot of the eastern side of the mound are a number of rock-cut sepulchres,²⁶ and nearby an old Roman (?) *birkeh* and a large modern one.

Two kilometres east-southeast of Kh. el-Yadûdeh lies Kh. er-Rufaiseh (54),

²¹ M, pp. 113-23.

²² M, pp. 383-88.

²³ M, p. 390.

²⁴ See below the discussion of Moabite pottery found at el-Medeiyneh in the Wâdi eth-Themed, and elsewhere, pp. 13 ff.

²⁵ M, p. 218.

²⁶ PA II, p. 179.

which consists of three small ruined sites, a few hundred metres apart from one another. The southernmost one is the most extensive; it is a complex of rock-cut cisterns, foundations of walls and houses, several caves, and a number of small mounds. The mounds usually conceal vaulted chambers. In the northeast site are the ruins of a large building, which may date back to an early period, perhaps to the Bronze Age. We also found a Nabataean capital there. One MBI sherd and one EI I sherd were found, and in addition several burnished Hellenistic sherds, some pieces of sigillata ware, and several Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds.

About twelve kilometres south of er-Rufaiseh, we came to Zobâyer el-Qaşṭal (55), a kilometre due west of el-Qaşṭal.²⁷ It is an extensive site, dotted with low mounds concealing vaulted chambers, and possessing many cisterns and caves. There are only a few ruined walls left which have not yet been covered with the mounting débris. Quantities of Nabataean sherds were discovered. There were also some pieces of mediaeval Arabic glazed and painted ware. As at Kh. er-Rufaiseh, however, the Nabataean site must have been built over an earlier one, to judge from the pottery which we found there. There were a number of characteristic EI I-II sherds, among which were several pieces of decorated Moabite ware. Several other pieces of painted ware, belonging to EI I, are similar to the type found, for instance, by Albright at Tell el-Fâl, with bands of paint over a cream slip.²⁸

Two kilometres farther south in the same district, known as Arḍ ez-Zobâyer, we came to Zobâyer eṭ-Twâl (56), a small site consisting of a number of mounds, caves, and cisterns, with a small modern building standing among them. Over the doorway a worn capital has been built into the wall. Numerous Nabataean sherds were found, as well as some mediaeval Arabic sherds. We proceeded then about six kilometres northwest to Kh. Umm Rummâneh (58). On the way we passed a large, ancient wall of a terrace or dam on the left bank of the Wādī Dafyâneh (57). At Kh. Umm Rummâneh there is a modern village, built over earlier ruins. Around the village, and between some of the houses, were a number of small mounds and some cisterns. We found several Nabataean and Roman sherds, as well as some mediaeval Arabic sherds.

Three kilometres north-northeast of Kh. Umm Rummâneh is Zobâyer 'Adwân (59), a small village consisting of half a dozen stone hovels, built among extensive ruins. There are many small mounds, caves, cisterns, and ruined wall and house foundations. Quantities of Nabataean sherds were found, as well as some Roman, Byzantine, and numerous mediaeval Arabic sherds. We proceeded then about ten kilometres south-southwest to Kh.

²⁷ See above, pp. 4 f.

²⁸ ANNUAL IV, p. 15, and pl. XXXI.

Hawwārah²⁹ (60), a small ruined site with a few modern houses, in the walls of which some Byzantine mouldings have been placed. Practically no sherds were to be found under the heaps of modern débris. Five kilometres due east is another small site, Zobāyer ed-Dreibeh (61), distinguished only by a few low mounds, where several Nabataean and Roman sherds were found. Two kilometres northeast lies Kh. Zweizā (62), where there are four abandoned modern buildings, one of them a mosque, built over earlier ruins. The characteristic low mounds, cisterns, and caves are to be seen; there is also a ruined *birkeh*. Nabataean sherds were plentiful. Some of the mounds concealed vaulted chambers. Others, as may well be the case in some of the sites already discussed, were earthworks thrown up around cave-cisterns in order to divert all the rain-water possible into them. In the Nabataean period much more energy was expended in catching and preserving the available rain-water than today. On the numerous sites where Nabataean pottery was found, there were invariably many cisterns. The modern Arabs, failing to emulate their Nabataean predecessors, have been forced to abandon one site after another, so that the entire Ard ez-Zobāyer, which was dotted with villages and hamlets in Nabataean times, is almost completely abandoned today.

May 28. Four kilometres southwest of Kh. Zweizā lies Kh. es-Siker (63), with numerous mounds and cave-cisterns. Quantities of Nabataean sherds and numerous pieces of sigillata ware were found. About three hundred metres to the north of the elevation on which the mounds are situated we came upon very extensive limestone quarries, from which a great number of stones must have been obtained. Long lines of cuttings are still visible, where rectangular and square blocks of stone had been cut out. Rows of stones chiseled out on three sides, and awaiting the undercutting operations which would have freed them from the native rock, are to be seen just as they were left when the quarries were abandoned (Fig. 1). In the face of one wall, where the marks of the masons' tools are particularly clear, is a large niche, practically square, with three small rectangular niches above it. They were cut after the quarrying operations in this section were completed, breaking the course of the diagonal lines left by the quarrymen's tools. They may be Dushara niches. To judge from the large number of Nabataean sherds and pieces of sigillata ware found at Kh. es-Siker, the quarries were probably first used by the Nabataeans and then perhaps by the Romans. There seems to have been no permanent occupation of the site after the Nabataean-Roman period, although it is quite possible that the quarries may have been subsequently used. The stones quarried in huge quantities must have been removed

²⁹ M, pp. 106-7, fig. 36.

elsewhere, since they would have sufficed for several very large sites in addition to the few vaulted structures which are undoubtedly to be found underneath the mounds at Kh. es-Siker. It seems likely that the quarries were first extensively used for the construction of a very large Nabataean-Roman site, known as Umm el-Walid (65), which is about five kilometres southwest of Kh. es-Siker. It also seems likely that the quarries were extensively used during the construction of Meshettā (3), in the eighth century A. D.;³⁰ Meshettā is only about ten kilometres northeast of Kh. es-Siker. There are

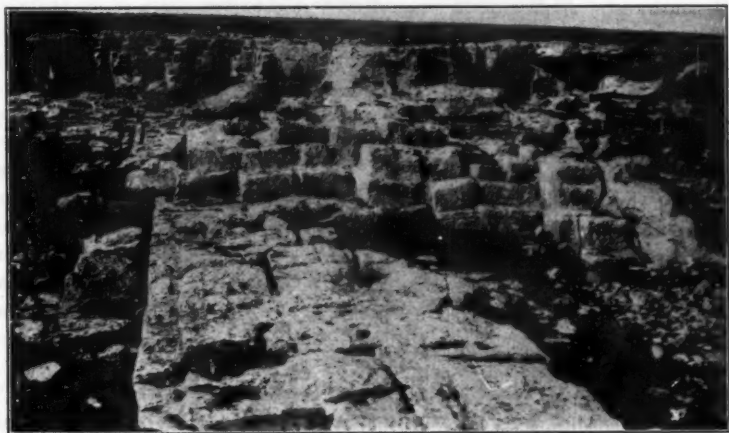


Fig. 1. Limestone quarry at Kh. es-Siker.

no large quarries in the immediate vicinity of Meshettā, and the limestone used in the buildings there is exactly the same as that to be found at Kh. es-Siker.

Five kilometres west of Kh. es-Siker lies Kh. Umm el-Qeṣeir³¹ (64). It is a large site, containing many low mounds, caves, cisterns, and the ruins of several vaulted chambers. Several of the mounds are still open on one side, affording entrance to the vaulted chambers which they conceal. Some of these chambers are used as dwelling places today. The foundation walls of other similar chambers are also visible. In this complex of ruins is a large, ruined, rectangular watch-tower, oriented northeast by southwest and measuring 12

³⁰ PA II, pp. 171-76; M, p. 202; MA III, pp. 121, 126-7; Herzfeld, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, III, p. 338; Cresswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, pp. 397, 399, 403-405.

³¹ PA II, p. 90; M, p. 106.

by 11.40 metres. Near the western corner of the tower are the ruins of a rectangular, vaulted chamber (see plan of Kh. Umm el-Qeṣeir, Pl. 2). About thirty-four metres beyond the northeastern corner of the tower is a similar ruined vaulted chamber with an entrance on its southeastern side. Inside the chamber, opposite the entrance, is a large cistern. The tower itself was probably two stories high originally. Elaborate precautions were taken to guard its doorway. A small entrance at the foot of the southeastern wall led to a small rectangular chamber, A, which is oriented north-northeast by south-southwest. At the northern end of this chamber there is an entrance leading to chamber B, oriented east-southeast by west-northwest. This chamber leads to chamber C, from the northern end of which a stairway, facing east-southeast, ascends to the eastern corner of the floor of the second story (see plan of Kh. Umm el-Qeṣeir, Pl. 3). At the southwestern corner of the second floor there was a still larger stairway, so blocked up, however, that its further course could not be ascertained. It was probably also approached by a maze of chambers and passage ways. That Kh. Umm el-Qeṣeir was originally a Nabataean settlement is attested by the numerous Nabataean sherds which were found there. A number of mediaeval Arabic sherds were also picked up. Inserted into the wall of a modern hovel near the tower, above the doorway, is a lintel with two Maltese crosses carved at either end, with a circle between them. The circle may originally have been a rosette but is so worn away as to be indistinguishable.

Three kilometres south of Kh. Umm el-Qeṣeir we came to Umm el-Walid³² (65), an extraordinarily large site packed with ruins of large and small buildings. The large number of cisterns testifies to the care with which the rain-water was husbanded, making it possible for a considerable population to live at Umm el-Walid in the Nabataean period, for instance. A large number of Nabataean sherds were found, including the top of a lamp depicting a locust. Numerous Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found also. In the northeast section of the city a building was planned (see plan of Bldg. "A" at Umm el-Walid, Pl. 4). It is a rectangular structure, made of finely cut limestone blocks. It measures 17 by 9.50 metres and is oriented west-northwest by east-southeast. The entrance is in the center of the west-northwest side, with one room intact at the left side of the entrance. On the north-northeast and south-southwest sides were rows of pilasters, which supported the arches of the vaulted roof. On one of the pilasters the impost block is still in place (Fig. 2). Inside of the building was a mass of fallen building stones. Among them was a lintel with a tooth-like decoration, and a well-cut voussour, similar to those which we found at Kh. Barzah.³³ There

³² PA II, pp. 87-90.

³³ See below, p. 51.

was also a capital of the Nabataean type,³⁴ like the one which we found at Khân ez-Zebîb. Immediately northwest of Bldg. "A" at Umm el-Walîd we photographed a lintel with an intricate flower design on it. Near it is the scallop shell of a niche, which has been built upside down into a late wall. On the southwest side of Umm el-Walîd, beyond the remains of the city wall,



Fig. 2. Pilaster with impost block of Bldg. "A".

is a large, ruined caravanserai, 46.20 metres square, with rooms flanking the inner sides.³⁵ It is somewhat similar to Khân ez-Zebîb, and like it may belong to the Byzantine or to the Saracenic period.³⁶ It is of much poorer construction than the fine Nabataean and Roman buildings of Umm el-Walîd. A large number of Nabataean sherds found on the northern side of the

³⁴ PA I, pp. 148-155, fig. 154-173; S, pp. 236-9, 241; MA II, pl. XLII.

³⁵ For a plan of the caravanserai see PA II, p. 89.

³⁶ PA II, p. 87; M, p. 176; for a plan of Khân ez-Zebîb see PA II, p. 78.

caravanserai probably come from several small mounds immediately north of it, which probably conceal Nabataean vaulted buildings. South of the caravanserai, at the eastern end of the city, is a large open space, well paved with rectangular and square limestone slabs. It is used today as a threshing floor and may be part of the floor of the forum of the Roman city.³⁷

Three kilometres south of Umm el-Walid lies Kh. el-Herī³⁸ (66). Built on the summit of a steep hill overlooking the Wādī el-Herī, it commands the entire surrounding region, and must have served as an outpost, protecting the arable land to the west and south of it (Fig. 3). It is a rectangular, ruined



Fig. 3. Kh. el-Herī.

fortress, measuring approximately 75 by 50 metres. There are several large cisterns near it. The inside is a mass of fallen stones, among which Arab graves have been built. Very few sherds were found, most of them having been washed down the steep slopes beneath the fortress by the periodic rains. A small number of Nabataean sherds were discovered, however, including several painted pieces and one piece of rouletted sigillata. Kh. el-Herī belonged originally, however, to the Early Iron Age, to judge from a number of worn EII-I-II sherds which were found beneath the western side of the fortress.

Three kilometres east-southeast of Kh. el-Herī, after crossing the Wādī el-Herī, we came to Kh. Zeinab³⁹ (67), which consists mostly of a number of low mounds, caves, and cisterns. There were several ruined buildings with

³⁷ PA II, p. 87.

³⁸ M, Moab, p. 174; PA II, p. 86.

³⁹ M, p. 108.

vaulted chambers, one of the buildings being of considerable size. A number of Nabataean sherds were found.

May 29. Four kilometres south-southwest of Kh. Zeinab, we came to the Wādī eth-Themed and found that it still contained pools of water relatively near to one another. It was discovered that by digging little more than half a metre beneath the surface of the bed of the *wādī* a plentiful water supply could be obtained.⁴⁰ It seems probable that the itinerary of the Israelites led them to the Wādī eth-Themed, since it is the only possible place north of the Wādī el-Môjib where an adequate water supply is available for a large number



Fig. 4. Kh. el-Medeiyineh, by the Wādī eth-Themed, looking east.

of people. The proposal to place the station of Beer in the Wādī eth-Themed seems to be correct. Similarly it seems justifiable to identify the site of Kh. el-Medeiyineh, overlooking the Wādī eth-Themed, with the station of Mattanah,⁴¹ which is mentioned as one of the halting places along the route of the Exodus.

Kh. el-Medeiyineh ⁴² (68) is a large, well-defined tell, situated on an isolated knoll on the left bank of the Wādī eth-Themed. The tell is oriented north-northeast by south-southwest and measures on the top 160 by 40 metres. About half-way down the slope is a wide ditch or dry moat, which encircles the entire mound. Traces of a wall surrounding the top of the tell are visible (Fig. 4). Sherds were picked up on its surface and slopes, while large

⁴⁰ Numbers 21, 16-8.

⁴¹ Numbers 21, 18; MA III, p. 17.

⁴² For plans of the site see M, p. 300; PA I, p. 28; cf. *Bulletin*, No. 51, pp. 10-12.

quantities, in addition to a number of pottery figurines and animals, were found on an ancient dump heap at the northeastern corner of the tell. The sherds belong for the most part to Early Iron I;⁴³ some may extend into the end of Late Bronze, and a considerable number of them belong to Early Iron II, going down as far as the eighth century B. C. In addition to types common to sites of corresponding periods in Western Palestine, sherds were found belonging to a new type of pottery. It may for the present be characterized as Moabite pottery, because it has been found in almost a dozen different sites scattered throughout Moab. Albright was the first to discover this distinctive Moabite pottery, having found it at Kerak, the ancient Moabite capital known as Kir-hareseth.⁴⁴ This Moabite pottery attests a high civilization, skilled in ceramic craft and possessed of a highly developed artistic sense. The fragments belonging to this type of pottery are covered with a rich red or brown slip, highly polished, and further decorated with narrow, mathematically exact, horizontal bands of dark brown paint. Sometimes parallel horizontal bands of red slip are put on separately. These bands of slip are bordered by parallel horizontal lines of dark brown paint and separated from one another by bands of white-wash, which were put on after the vessel had been fired. This type of ornamentation is suggestive of that of the Cypro-Phoenician ointment juglet of the EI I and the early EI II periods in Palestine.⁴⁵ It is also comparable to the ornamentation of the miniature amphora of the EI II period,⁴⁶ which is analogous to the earlier Cypro-Phoenician ointment juglet. The similarity of this type of decorated Moabite pottery to the Cypro-Phoenician pottery is not, however, a complete one. The differences are large enough to compel an individual classification. Exact parallels have not as yet been found. It is possible that this pottery has in part been imported from Syria, or that it represents the influence of Syria, particularly of the Damascus region, upon Moab in the Early Iron Age.⁴⁷ Excavations in Syria may throw light upon the origin of this "Moabite" pottery.

At Qaşr Sâliyah we found a broken specimen of a decorated Moabite juglet, which is closely related to the Cypro-Phoenician type (Fig. 5). The entire outer surface of the juglet, including the flat disc base with the slightly bulging center, is covered with a reddish-brown slip. The base has been so highly polished as to render the wheel marks practically invisible. The slip on the sides of the juglet has been continuously wheel-burnished with parallel, contiguous bands of chordal burnishing. On the upper side of the juglet

⁴³ For the table of archaeological periods in Palestine, which is followed in this paper, see *ANNUAL XIII*, p. 98.

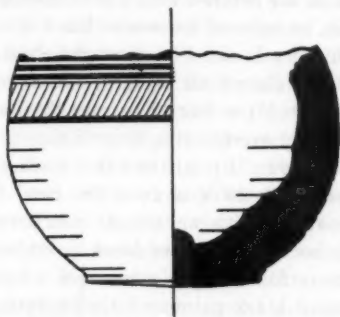
⁴⁴ *Bulletin*, No. 14, pp. 10-11.

⁴⁵ *ANNUAL XII*, p. 72.

⁴⁶ *ANNUAL XII*, p. 85.

⁴⁷ *Bulletin*, No. 14, p. 11.

there is a horizontal band of red paint, bordered on the bottom by a line of dark brown paint and on the top by two parallel lines of dark brown paint. A number of decorated sherds from several sites, related in general type of decoration to the juglet from Qaşr Sâliyah, are discussed in the following presentation. The el-Medeiyneh sherds discussed are from the site of that name described above. Unless otherwise specified, all the sherds in question originate from this site. Pl. 20:1 (= 22:5) is from the lower side of a sharply carinated decanter. The inside is plain brownish buff, with the wheel marks clearly visible. Below the wet-smoothed elbow of the vessel, the outside surface is covered with a brown, continuously burnished slip, over which a band of highly polished red paint was placed. Above this band of slip are



Scale 1:2.

Fig. 5. Drawing of Moabite juglet from Sâliyah.

three narrow, parallel, horizontal bands of dark brown paint. Two bands of white-wash were placed between them after the vessel had been fired. Pl. 22:3 belongs to a similar vessel.⁴⁸ Over the wet-smoothed, plain buff surface, two parallel horizontal lines of dark brown paint were placed, followed by a broad band of red slip and a single line of dark brown paint, which is evidently one of a pair of such lines. Between each pair of parallel lines of dark brown paint a band of white-wash was placed after the vessel had been fired. Pl. 20:2 belongs to the wall and rim of a fine jar from Qaşr Za'ferân I.⁴⁹ Over the rim and upper part of the wall is a continuously burnished band of red slip, bordered at the bottom with a single horizontal line of black paint. Then followed a number of parallel, horizontal lines of black paint, between which

⁴⁸ Sellin and Watzinger, *Jericho*, p. 142, fig. 153-4; cf. p. 26, n. 2.

⁴⁹ ANNUAL XII, pl. 29: 8.

lands of white-wash were subsequently placed. Pl. 20:3 (= 22:2) belongs to a thin-walled jug with a wavy profile. The inside is covered with a red slip, and where this has worn away in part one can see that it was superimposed over an underlying creamy white slip. On the very lip of the rim are two narrow, parallel horizontal lines of black paint. Extending immediately below the edge of the rim on the outer surface are three narrow horizontal bands of black paint. Beneath them is a band of red slip, then three lines of black paint, followed by a broad band of red slip and then again by three lines of black paint. Both the bands of red slip and the lines of black paint are over an underlying, highly polished, brown slip. Pl. 20:4, from Bālû'ah, is from a wavy profiled, thin-walled pot, with slightly profiled rim. The inside and outside surfaces are covered with a continuously burnished red slip, and on the lip of the rim are several horizontal lines of black paint. Beneath them are a band of white-wash and three parallel, horizontal lines of black paint. The white-wash on almost all of these vessels was put on after the firing of the vessels. Pl. 20:5 (= 24:2) is from the wall and rim of a wavy profiled bowl, with a slightly everted rim, from Sâliyeh. There are traces of a continuously burnished brown slip on the outer surface and upon the upper part of the inner surface. Pl. 20:6 is from the rim of a jug from Jemeil. It is covered on the outside with an almost continuously hand-burnished brown slip. There is a horizontal line of black paint immediately below the edge of the rim. This is followed by a band of white-wash, then by two parallel, horizontal lines of black paint and the beginnings of a band of red slip. On the inside of the rim are remnants of a worn red slip. Pl. 20:7 (= 22:15, photographed upside down) is from the wall of a large jug with two loop-handles, the remnant of one of which still remains. The decoration, which commences immediately beneath the line of the handles, consists of broad bands of red slip placed over the natural, wet-smoothed buff surface of the jug. They are separated from one another by parallel lines of dark brown paint. Pl. 20:8 (= 22:4) is part of the neck and collared rim of a jug. A band of highly polished red slip covers the lip and upper part of the rim. Below it are three parallel horizontal lines of dark brown paint, between which two bands of creamy white-wash were placed. There follows another band of red slip, with traces of a band of white-wash beneath it, and a final line of dark brown paint. Pl. 22:6 is part of the collared rim of a jug, with a band of red slip covering the lip and upper part of the rim. It is followed by two lines of dark brown paint between which a band of white-wash was placed, and then by another band of red slip. Pl. 22:1 is from the wall and rim of a thin-walled bowl, with a reddish brown, continuously burnished slip covering the inner and outer surfaces. On the outer surface, immediately below the

rim, which tapers to a dull point, is a horizontal band of dark brown paint. Below it is a band of white-wash, then three parallel, horizontal lines of dark brown paint, and a broad band of red slip.⁵⁰ Pl. 20:12 is the rim of a similar type of bowl. The inner surface is covered with a red slip, hand-burnished with irregular, more or less parallel, horizontal lines of chordal burnishing. The upper part of the outer surface is covered with a continuously burnished broad band of red slip, bordered on the bottom with a single horizontal line of black paint. It is followed immediately by two parallel lines of black paint placed over an adjoining band of brown slip. Pl. 20:10 (= 24:18), from Sâliyah, is from the rim and wall of a thin-walled bowl with a wet-smoothed surface, over which a number of parallel, horizontal bands of black paint were drawn. They are topped by a wide band of red paint, which extends over the lip of the rim and a short distance over the edge of the inner surface of the rim. Pl. 20:11 (= 24:6) belongs to a shallow bowl from Sâliyah of EI I type, to which period indeed we assign most of this decorated ware. It has a reddish buff, wet-smoothed inner and outer surface. There is a band of dark red, continuously hand-burnished slip on the outside surface just below the rim, and also covering the lip of the rim. Pl. 20:9 is an excellent example of the EI I type of bowl, with painted-band decoration,⁵¹ from Zobâyir el-Qaşal. It is made of grayish white clay of fine texture, with fine white grits. The inside surface is unsmoothed. The outside is smoothed with semi-continuous lines of hand burnishing over the surface and is decorated with a horizontal band of reddish brown paint placed between two lines of black paint. Pl. 20:13 (= 24:14) is the rim of an exceedingly thin-walled bowl, made of finely levigated clay, from Sâliyah. It is covered on the inside and outside with a continuously burnished, dark brown slip. Just below the edge of the rim on the inner and outer surface, over the underlying slip, are two narrow, parallel horizontal lines of black paint over a small band of creamy white slip. The type of decoration and slip, as well as the texture of the bowl and its general character, recall again the similarity of this type of decorated Moabite pottery to the Cypro-Phoenician pottery.

A number of sherds of distinctive type, which belong to fine thin-walled bowls with profiled rims, were found at Sâliyah and at several other sites in Moab. Pl. 20:14 (= 24:12), from Sâliyah, has a continuously burnished red slip on the outer surface, with a line of black paint below the main ridge, extending from the bottom of the rim. On the inside of the bowl there is a band of unburnished red slip, which extends from the edge of the rim to a point shortly below where the main ridge commences on the outside. The

⁵⁰ ANNUAL IV, pl. XXVII: 25.

⁵¹ ANNUAL VI, pp. 39, 43.

entire rim is slightly inverted. Pl. 24:7 is from a fine, thin-walled bowl, with a profiled, slightly everted rim. It has a deep red slip on the outer surface, continuously hand-burnished. There is an irregular band of red paint on the inner surface of the rim. Pl. 20:15 (=24:8), from Sâliyah, is covered with a red slip on the outside surface, which is hand-burnished with parallel horizontal lines of burnishing, characteristic of the EI I period.⁵² There are a few similar lines of burnishing near the very top of the band of red slip which covers the inner side of the rim, the very end of which is slightly everted. Pl. 20:16 (=24:13), from Sâliyah, is covered with a reddish brown slip, hand-burnished with irregular criss-cross lines of burnishing of the EI I type.⁵³ There is a narrow band of burnished, reddish brown slip on the inside of the rim. To a similarly profiled jug belongs Pl. 20:17 (=24:11), from Sâliyah. It has a plain, wet-smoothed buff surface, with three parallel, horizontal lines of black paint between the edge of the rim and the ridge which encircles the bowl at the base of the rim. To a somewhat coarser type of thin-walled bowl with profiled rim belongs Pl. 20:18, from Jemel. The outer side and top of the rim are decorated with narrow, horizontal bands of black paint over the wet-smoothed buff surface. On the inside surface of the rim is a wide band of red paint. Pl. 20:19, from Bâlû'ah, is the sharply profiled rim of a bowl. It has a reddish brown slip on the inside, continuously hand-burnished with criss-cross lines of burnishing. There are several narrow, parallel horizontal bands of black paint on the continuously burnished reddish brown slip on the outer surface of the rim. Between the bands of paint are bands of white-wash. There are traces of a reddish brown slip on the outer surface of the body of the vessel, below the ridge. Pl. 20:20, from Bâlû'ah, has a band of red paint on the lip of the rim and a band of red paint immediately below the edge of the rim and extending partly over the upper side of the ridge at the base of the rim. The bands of paint were placed on the wet-smoothed, reddish-buff surface of the vessel. Pl. 20:21 (=24:1), from Sâliyah, is the profiled rim of a bowl with a band of red paint on the lip of the rim. There is a band of red paint and a contiguous one of black paint drawn horizontally over the wet-smoothed, buff surface below the edge of the rim. It is similar in type to the profiled rims from the second period of Gibeah, belonging to the eleventh century B. C.⁵⁴ Pl. 20:22, from Bâlû'ah, is the profiled rim of an EI I cooking pot of dark grayish clay with white grits and with wet-smoothed surface.⁵⁵

⁵² ANNUAL XII, pp. 66-8; IV, pp. 11-2.

⁵³ ANNUAL XII, p. 67; IV, p. 11.

⁵⁴ ANNUAL IV, pl. XXVIII: 3; XXXI: 5; XXV: 22-4.

⁵⁵ ANNUAL IV, pl. XXVIII: 4; XII, p. 66, and pl. 30: 45.

Pl. 20:23, from Bālû'ah, is from a jug with wet-smoothed, dark grayish surface; it probably belongs to EI I but may go back to LB. Pl. 20:24, from Bālû'ah, is from a large jug with wet-smoothed buff surface. Its broad, everted, profiled rim is decorated with two vertical stripes of red-wash on the inside.⁵⁶

Various other decorated sherds of the finer type found at el-Medeiyineh are illustrated Pl. 22: 7-14, 16-38. Pl. 22: 13, photographed upside down, is from the wall of a decanter. The decoration is placed over the smoothed buff surface. It consists of alternating bands of white-wash and red slip, separated by parallel horizontal lines of dark brown paint. The lines of decoration were put on with the aid of the wheel and are strikingly exact. 22: 11 has a continuously burnished reddish brown slip, over which an additional band of red slip was placed, bordered by a line of black paint above it and several bands of black paint below it. Pl. 22: 12 (upside down) is from the wall of a jar. The outer surface is covered with a continuously burnished reddish brown slip, over which are bands of red paint alternating with lines of black paint. Pl. 22: 14 is from a large lentoid flask with an almost continuously burnished brown slip. Over it were painted concentric bands and lines of black paint, and between them is a concentric band of white-wash, which in this case was put on before the vessel was fired; cf. Pl. 22: 27. The ware of these lentoid flasks is comparatively coarse. They are similar to the lentoid flasks made of coarse ware and with broad painted rings which are characteristic of EI I in Palestine.⁵⁷ Pl. 22: 16 is covered with a continuously burnished brown slip. It is further decorated with a band of black paint and with three parallel lines of black paint, between which are two bands of white-wash. The white-wash in this case was put on before the firing. Pl. 22: 19 is a fragment of a small bowl with a highly polished red slip on the inner surface. On the outer surface there is a continuously burnished brown slip, over which there is a band of highly polished red slip, as well as several parallel, horizontal lines of black paint. Strikingly similar to the decorated ware of the EI I period, frequently found in Palestine,⁵⁸ is 22: 25 (photographed upside down). It is from the thin wall of a small perfume juglet, and is decorated with parallel lines of black paint over a continuously burnished brown slip. Pl. 22: 24 is the lower part of the wall above the flat base of a small juglet of the same type. Pl. 22: 31, from the wall of an amphora, has a highly polished creamy white slip, over which discontinuous bands of

⁵⁶ ANNUAL XII, p. 73, and pl. 25: 22.

⁵⁷ ANNUAL XII, pp. 60, 64, 73.

⁵⁸ ANNUAL XII, p. 65, and pl. 30: 1-12, 14-22, 24-6; p. 66; p. 69, and pl. 31: 35; p. 73, and pl. 25: 10; IV, p. 15, and pl. XXXI; Sellin and Watzinger, *Jericho*, p. 142, fig. 153-4; Macalister, *Gezer* II, p. 208; cf. p. 20, n. 2.

red paint were placed. Pl. 22: 34 has a wet-smoothed buff surface, over which bands of red paint were placed, separated by a number of more or less parallel, horizontal lines of black paint, which were evidently put on while the vessel was being turned by hand. Pl. 22: 28 (photographed upside down) is from the wall and neck of a jug; it has a wet-smoothed, light-buff surface, on which are parallel, horizontal lines of black paint.

To larger and coarser examples of decorated Moabite pottery found at el-Medeiyneh by the Wādī eth-Themed belong the sherds shown on Pl. 23: 1-12. Pl. 23: 6 is from the wall of a large amphora with loop handles; it has a wet-smoothed, buff surface. Over it there was placed a wide, horizontal band of red paint, with a line of black paint bordering its upper side and a thin line of red paint immediately above that. Bordering its lower edge is a line of black paint, with a number of vertical lines of red paint extending from it. Pl. 23: 3 is from the wall of a jar, with a decoration of equidistant, parallel, horizontal lines of black paint on the wet-smoothed, buff surface. Pl. 23: 11 is from the wall of a jug, decorated with alternating bands of red paint and white-wash. Three parallel, horizontal lines of black paint were placed over the band of white-wash.

Various additional examples of decorated Moabite pottery found at Sâliyah are illustrated on Pl. 23: 13-29. Pl. 23: 14 is from a large bowl; there are remnants of a red slip on the inside surface. On the outer surface there is a brown slip, continuously hand-burnished with contiguous lines of chordal burnishing. Over this slip, on the lower part of the shoulder of the bowl, is a band of red slip. Pl. 23: 16 is from a large bowl, made of finely levigated, grayish clay. There is a light red slip on the inside, covered with concentric lines and bands of red paint, which take the place of spiral burnishing. On the outside, there is a continuously burnished, highly polished, sienna slip. Over this slip is a band of red slip, bordered on the lower side by a single line of black paint, and on the upper side by a narrow band of black paint, followed by a number of parallel, horizontal lines of black paint. Pl. 23: 29 is from the wall of a jar, with continuously burnished bands of dark brown slip, alternating with bands of two or three lines of dark brown paint, placed over the wet-smoothed, grayish surface. Pl. 23: 22, 24 are from small perfume juglets of the Cypro-Phoenician type. Pl. 23: 25 is from a jug. It has a continuously hand-burnished, creamy white slip, over part of which a semi-continuously burnished red slip was placed. This red slip is bordered by two faded lines of black paint, from which there extends over the visible creamy white slip a trellis of alternating black and red lines of paint. Pl. 23: 26 is from a jug, made of fine grayish white clay. There are traces of a brown, continuously burnished slip on the outer surface, over which two parallel,

horizontal lines of dark brown paint were drawn. Pl. 23:20 is from a thick walled jar, made of fine, grayish white clay, with a band of red paint over the wet-smoothed surface; it is similar to the band-painted ware familiar from Palestine, belonging to LB and EI I.⁵⁹ Pl. 23:28 is from a jar with a continuously burnished creamy white slip, over which are horizontal bands and lines of black paint, alternating with bands of brown slip. Pl. 23:13 is a part of a strainer spout from a large jug, typical of the EI I period. It has a deep red slip, discontinuously hand-burnished.⁶⁰

In addition to those sherds from Saliyeh, illustrated on Pl. 24, which have already been dealt with, several others shown on this plate may be described. Pl. 24:3 is from a shallow bowl. There are traces of a red slip on the inside, and there is a patchy covering of red paint on the outside. Pl. 24:20 is also from a shallow bowl; it has a worn red slip on the inside, showing traces of continuous lines of hand burnishing. There is a band of red paint on the outside immediately below the edge of the rim. Pl. 24:19 is from a shallow plate; it has a concentric band of black paint on the inside, wet-smoothed, buff surface. There is a band of red paint immediately below the edge of the rim, extending over the lip of the rim. Pl. 24:5 comes from a large, wide-mouthed jar. A band of red paint covers the top of the rim, and there are several short, wedge-shaped lines of paint on the fragment of a loop handle, which extends from the rim. Pl. 24:4 is from the rim of a similar jar. There is a band of reddish-brown paint on the top of the rim, which laps over to form a narrow band of paint on the inside of the rim. All of these sherds belong to EI I. Pl. 24:16 and 21 are examples of the spatulate bar-handles or pinched button-handles, which belong to a clear EI I period. They seem to have survived in Palestine down to the ninth century.⁶¹ They have been found in Tell Beit Mirsim, Gibeah, and Beth-Zur, for instance, in clear EI I levels.⁶² This type of handle is very common in EI I sites in Moab. Pl. 24:16 and 21 show pinched button-handles (from Saliyeh) which extend from the exterior of the rim of the bowl over the groove beneath the rim. Pl. 24:16 has remnants of a red ocher slip on the inner surface and rim. The outer surface, below the point where the pinched button-handle is attached, has been continuously wheel-burnished with contiguous, horizontal

⁵⁹ ANNUAL VI, pp. 39, 43.

⁶⁰ ANNUAL XII, p. 67, and pl. 27: 18; p. 73, and pl. 24: 24, pl. 25: 27; Sellers, *Beth-Zur*, p. 37, fig. 30.

⁶¹ ANNUAL XII, p. 73.

⁶² ANNUAL IV, p. 14, pl. XXX: 15, 16; XII, p. 63, pl. 28: 12; p. 70, pl. 31: 45; p. 73, pl. 25: 1, 7, 16; *Beth-Zur*, p. 37, fig. 31; *Samaria* I, p. 280: 14a, 20a; *Gezer* II, p. 206; III, pl. CLXXIV: 18; pl. CLXXI: 8; pl. XCI: 8; Sellin and Watzinger, *Jericho*, p. 140; fig. 55.

bands of burnishing on the buff surface. Pl. 24:21 has a red slip on the inside, which is continuously burnished with contiguous bands of spiral burnishing.⁶³ The rim is decorated with six narrow, horizontal, equidistant lines of reddish brown paint. At el-Medeiyineh and elsewhere in Moab were found numerous examples of the spatulate bar-handle — that is, a wedge-shaped bar of clay attached to the upper side of a bowl, with what looks like a nail-head at the end of the bar.

In almost all the Early Iron Age sites in Moab numerous sherds were found which belong to the same type of profiled bowls as those which had bar or button handles. Some of them may indeed have had such handles originally. To this or a related type of profiled bowls belong 24:9 and 15. The former is hand-burnished on the outside on the natural buff surface with fine, irregular, horizontal lines of burnishing. There are three fine, horizontal lines of burnishing on the rim. Pl. 24:15 has traces of a red slip on the inside and a continuously burnished, highly polished red slip on the rim.

We shall have to conclude here our remarks on the pottery of the Iron Age sites in Moab. It has been possible, in the space allotted, to present only some of the new types of decorated Moabite ware and to refer in passing to other types more or less familiar from finds in Palestine. There is much to be said yet about the various types of ring-burnished ware found, which correspond in general to the similar ware in Palestine. At the conclusion of the projected continuation of the archaeological survey of Southern Transjordan we plan to publish a complete treatment of all the types of pottery found in Moab and of those which we hope to find in Edom. The pottery finds in Moab belonging to the Early Iron Age extend from the beginning of Early Iron I down into the middle of Early Iron II, that is, from about the middle of the thirteenth to about the ninth or eighth century B. C. Most of the sherds found belong to EI I, to which period we assign the greater part of the decorated ware we have dealt with. The heyday of Moab, to judge from the pottery finds, seems to have been in Early Iron I. The pottery dates established may have to be revised downward somewhat in the EI II period, but hardly much upward, certainly not beyond the very end of Late Bronze. From approximately the middle or, at the very lowest, from before the end of the Early Iron II period on, there is a complete gap in the history of settled communities in Moab down to the Nabataean period. The Early Iron II period was one of decline and disintegration in the kingdom of Moab.

A number of important small objects were found at el-Medeiyineh on the surface of the dump-heap at the northeastern corner of the tell. One of them was the head of a pottery figurine, which represents a Semitic king or deity

⁶³ ANNUAL XII, pl. 30: 31; p. 73, pl. 25: 17, 36.

(Fig. 6 a, b). The head is very skillfully moulded, every feature being clearly and boldly delineated. The head-dress is held on by an 'uqal, tied in front with a bow knot. Beside and below the large ears extend long locks of braided hair. The pointed beard, which shows traces of having been affixed after the head was moulded, extends from immediately below the thick, protruding lips. The squat nose, bulging cheeks, and large slanting eyes complete the picture.



Fig. 6 a, b. Head of Semitic king or deity from el-Medeiyneh.

There are two incisions on the right cheek, which do not seem to have been accidental. The back side of the head-dress, which is perfectly smooth, shows several perpendicular lines of dark brown paint, with one such line remaining in the middle of the right side of the head-dress⁶⁴ (see Fig. 6 b).

⁶⁴ For a similar Semitic type with head-dress held on by a knotted rope-band, and belonging to the Early Iron Age, see AOTB, fig. 12, 22; cf. PEFQS, 1899, pp. 328-9, particularly the central figure on p. 328. These figures from Tell es-Sâfi belong, I should think, to the end of the Iron Age (Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale*, Vol. I, p. 120, fig. 71).

A smaller head of another male figurine also was found on the dump-heap at el-Medeiyineh. The prong by which it was attached to the body of the figurine remains intact (Fig. 7 a, b). The bulging eyes are covered by very long, almost semi-circular eyebrows. A small pointed beard extends from the chin; the distended cheeks are also partially covered by the beard. The mouth is represented by a narrow slit. A tightly fitting head-cloth covers the head, and two long locks of hair extend downward from behind the ears. At Bālû'ah⁶⁵ we found an almost exactly similar head, which was picked up above the wall overlooking the dump-heaps on the northern slopes of the site (Fig. 7 a, b). The prong is missing, but otherwise this head could have been made in the same mould as the one found at el-Medeiyineh. Indeed it is not unlikely that it actually was made in the same mould, in which many others were also made and distributed throughout the country. The large ears, the bulging eyes covered by long, semi-circular, prominent eyebrows, the distended cheeks, narrow slit of a mouth, long locks of hair, and small, pointed beard are completely like the features of the other head. Both heads belonged to a type of figurine which was evidently common throughout Moab.⁶⁶ The similarity of these two heads is heightened by the fact that the Early Iron Age pottery found at Bālû'ah is exactly like that found at el-Medeiyineh. The same characteristic sherds and the same beautiful, decorated Moabite pottery were found at both sites. From the nature of the texture of the three heads found all that can be stated is that they belong to the Early Iron Age, a date which is in accord with the general pottery finds. In the absence of stratigraphic excavations, however, every guess must remain hazardous, particularly since this type of heads seems to be unique.⁶⁷ These figurines, one type of which may represent Chemosh, may illustrate the biblical "abomination of Moab."⁶⁸

Recently Mr. Head, on one of his tours of inspection, found an almost complete specimen of the type of figurine to which the two heads from Bālû'ah and el-Medeiyineh belong. He picked it up at el-Meshhed, which is a small ruined tower overlooking the 'Ayûn Mûsâ,⁶⁹ immediately below Mt. Nebo.

⁶⁵ See below, pp. 55 f.

⁶⁶ For types of bearded deities from Syria and Asia-Minor all of which, however, are more or less different from those found at el-Medeiyineh and Bālû'ah, see Müller, V, *Frühe Plastik in Griechenland u. Kleinasien*, pl. XXXVII, 377, 380; pl. XXXVIII, 381-6; pl. XXXIX, 390-2; pl. XLI, 402, 6, 7; pl. XLIII, 413.

⁶⁷ There is no relationship between these heads and the relief of the pseudo-Hittite figure discovered by de Saulcy at Rujm el-'Abd in 1851; cf. Dussaud, *Les monuments palestiniens et judaïques*, pp. 1-4; *Bulletin*, No. 14, p. 9.

⁶⁸ I Kings 11, 7; II Kings 23, 13.

⁶⁹ Conder, EP, p. 194.

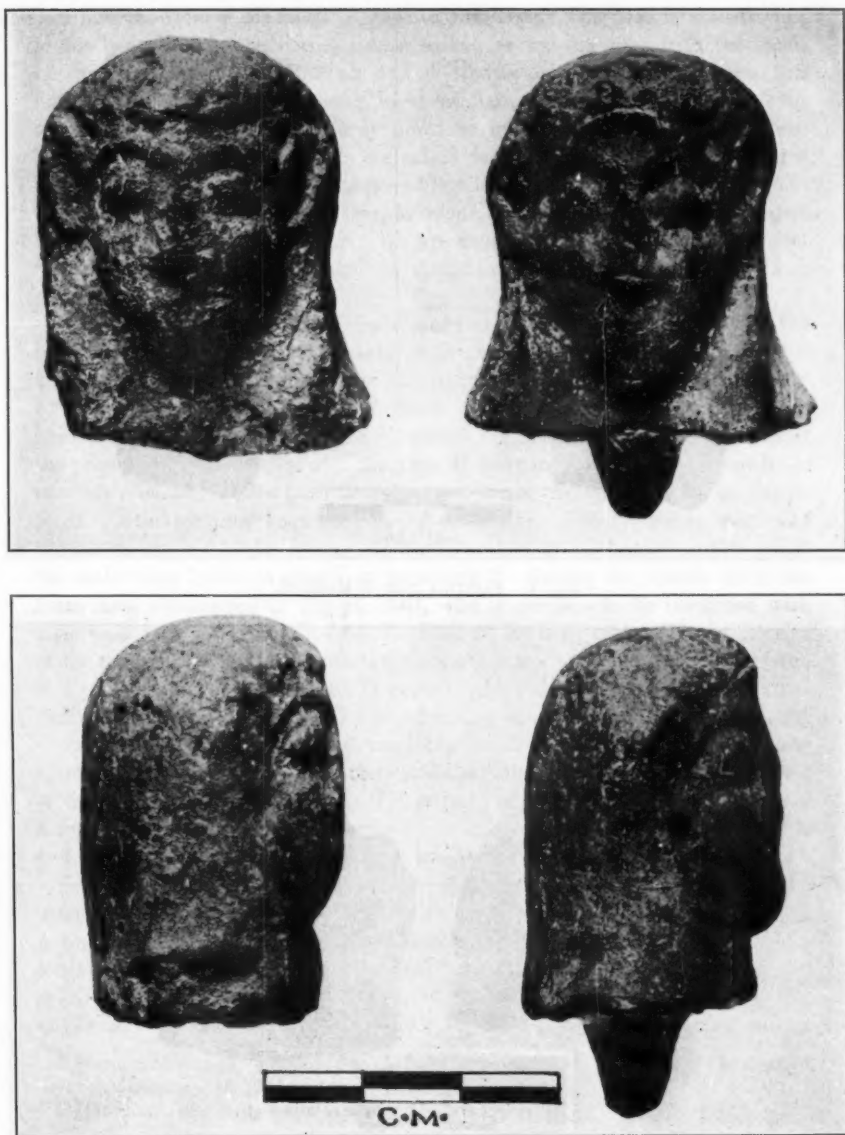


Fig. 7 a, b. Heads from el-Medeyineh (left) and Bālū'ah (right).

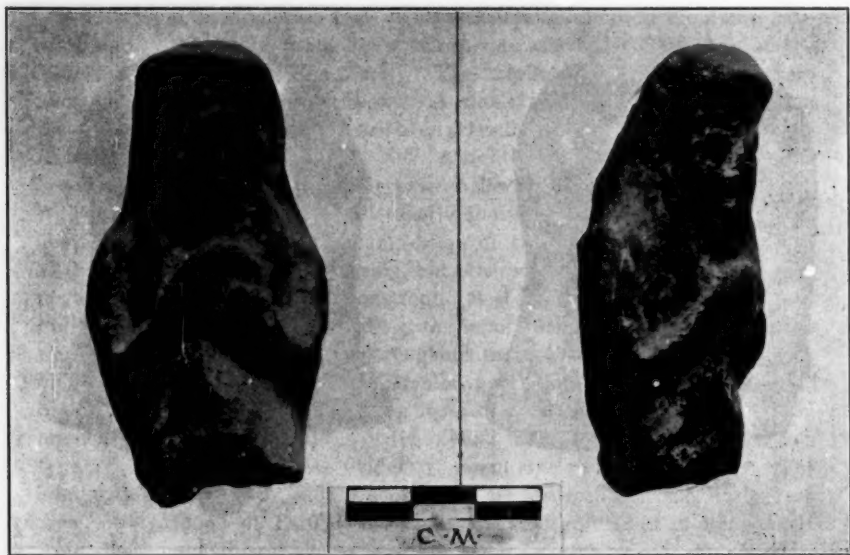


Fig. 8. Figurine from el-Meshhed.

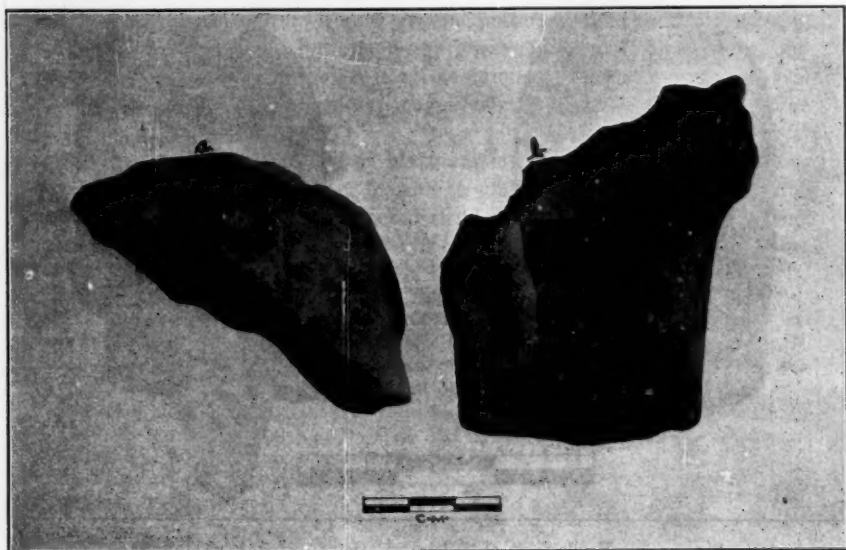


Fig. 9. Fragments of animal figurines of terracotta with traces of riders.

The figurine from el-Meshhed is made in one piece. The head is not attached to the body by a prong fitting into a socket, as was the case with the heads of the same type from Bâltâ'ah and el-Medeiyineh. It is seen from this figurine (Fig. 8) that the long locks of hair, visible on the sides of the other two heads, extend not only down to but well beyond the shoulders. The figure is nude. The hands are raised to the breast in a position almost of prayer. There seems to be some object clutched in the left hand. Both Père Vincent and Professor Fisher, to whom I have shown the figurine, agree that it represents a male figure. We are indebted to Mr. Horsfield, Adviser to the Transjordan Department of Antiquities, for permission to publish photographs of this figurine.

One of the most interesting finds made at el-Medeiyineh was part of the body of an animal made of pottery, with the legs and arms of a rider still attached to it. Another fragment had only the feet of a rider attached to it (Fig. 9). These fragments are probably parts of representations of gods on horseback, as the reconstructions indicate (Figs. 10, 11). If so, they reveal the presence of the worship of a new type of deity in Moab. To my knowledge no such mounted deities have thus far been discovered in Palestine or Transjordan, although they have been found elsewhere. The type may originally have been imported from Syria. At Palmyra a relief has been found on which the male deity 'Azîzû is shown on horseback.⁷⁰ Among the female divinities from Asia worshipped in Egypt, 'Asît, who is perhaps to be identified with Astarte, always rides on horseback.⁷¹ Half of the body of an Astarte figurine of the mother-goddess type, with large breasts, was also found at el-Medeiyineh and probably belongs to the EI II period. At Bâltâ'ah, too, there was found the fragment of an Astarte figurine holding something between her hands (Fig. 12). Fragments of several animal figurines were found at el-Medeiyineh; among them were the hind quarters and the tails of animals on which figures of deities may have been seated. The pottery head of a cow or a bull also was found there, with a head-gear formed by a double rope, knotted in the middle and tied to the horns, which are now broken off (Fig. 13 b).

Seven kilometres north-northeast of el-Medeiyineh, we came to Kh. ibn 'Aleiq (69), a small Nabataean site with a large cave-cistern in the center of it. A number of plain and painted Nabataean sherds were found there, and also some plain and rouletted sigillata ware. Returning to the Wâdî eth-Themed at a point about four kilometres east of el-Medeiyineh we came to Kh. ez-Zônah⁷² (70), a plan of which is given in Pl. 4. It is a small ruined

⁷⁰ Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, Vol. IV, p. 203; Rostovtzeff *Caravan Cities*, pp. 138, 151.

⁷¹ Müller, W. M.: *Egyptian Mythology*, pp. 156-7.

⁷² PA II, p. 335.

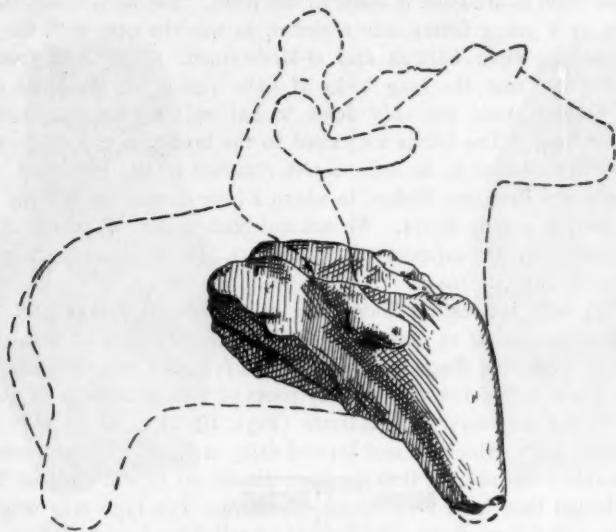


Fig. 10. Reconstruction of Fig. 9a.

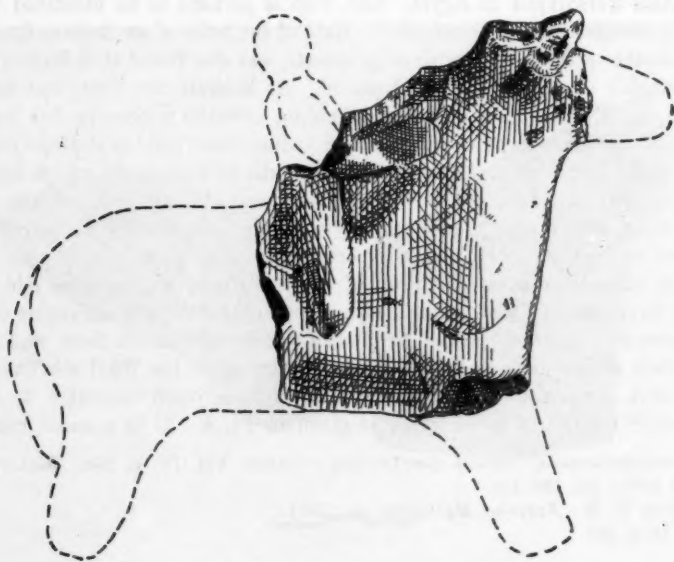


Fig. 11. Reconstruction of Fig. 9b.

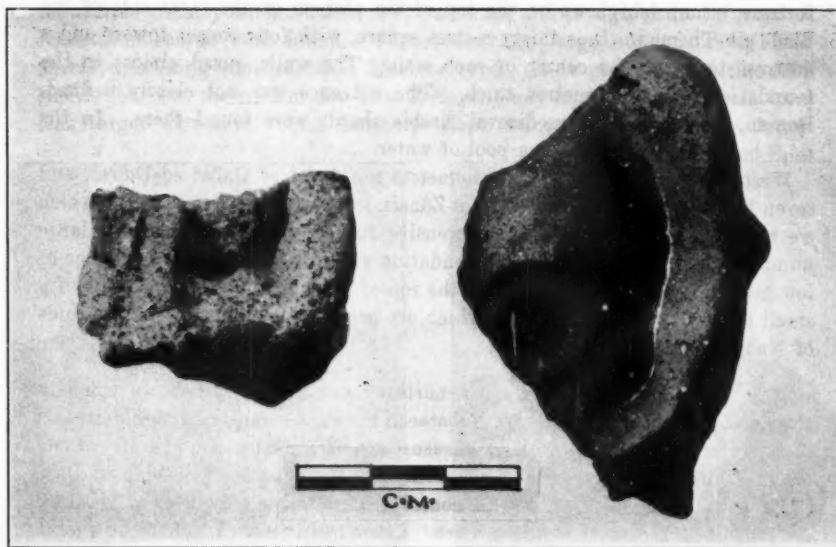


Fig. 12. Fragments of Astarte figurines from Bālū'ah and el-Medeiyneh.

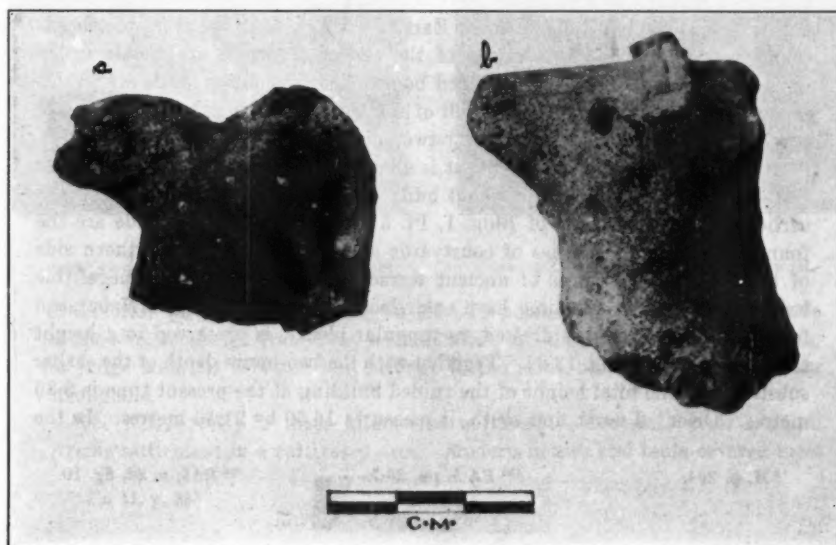


Fig. 13 a, b. Terracotta heads from Sāliyah and el-Medeiyneh.

fortress, situated high up on the top of the plateau on the right side of the Wādī eth-Themed. It is thirty metres square, with four corner towers and a buttress tower in the center of each wall. The walls, razed almost to the foundations, are two metres thick. The entrance was not clearly defined. Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found there. In the *wādī* bed below the site was a pool of water.

West of the Ma'an road, five kilometres northeast of Qal'at ed-Dab'ah and seven kilometres northeast of Kh. ez-Zônah, is Qeşeir Dubai'ah⁷³ (86), which we visited on June 1. It is an extensive ruined site, consisting of a large number of ruined buildings and foundation walls, in addition to a number of low mounds and cave-cisterns. On the top of a small knoll are the ruins of a small tower, the lower courses of which are preserved. Quantities of all kinds of Nabataean sherds were found.

May 30. Four kilometres north-northwest of el-Medeyineh we came to Qaşr ez-Za'ferân II (71), a large Nabataean stronghold built of roughly dressed rectangular blocks (Fig. 13 c). It measures 20 by 15.50 metres, with its corners oriented approximately to the four corners of the compass (see plan of Qaşr ez-Za'ferân, Bldg. II, Pl. 5).^{73a} A considerable number of courses of masonry are still preserved on the various sides. Large quantities of Nabataean sherds of all kinds were found, and also some Byzantine plain and painted ware. A few sherds were found belonging to EII. Among them were several decorated Moabite sherds. The Nabataean structure was built over an earlier one, which probably belonged to the Early Iron Age, to judge from the sherds found near it. Some foundations of the earlier structure are visible inside the Nabataean walls. Various ruined houses and foundation walls are visible around the Qaşr. On top of the wall of the Qaşr, in the northeast corner, are two draughts boards, each with thirty-two holes arranged in four rows of eight.

About a kilometre to the northwest is a larger site, also known as ez-Za'ferân (72), a large Nabataean stronghold built on the foundation of a larger and earlier building (see plan of Bldg. I, Pl. 5).^{73b} On its southern side are the foundation walls of a series of courtyards and rooms. On the northern side of the building are traces of ancient terracing and remains of a megalithic wall, which may at one time have encircled the entire site. The Nabataean fortress, built of roughly dressed, rectangular blocks, is preserved to a height of sixteen courses (Fig. 13 d). Together with the two-metre depth of the earlier substructure, the total height of the ruined building at the present time is 8.30 metres. Oriented north and south, it measures 16.50 by 21.50 metres. In the

⁷³ M, p. 294.

^{73a} PA I, pp. 26-7.

^{73b} PAI, p. 26, fig. 10.

immediate vicinity are a number of low mounds and cave-cisterns. Numerous Nabataean sherds were found. There were also large numbers of EII-II sherds, including the decorated Moabite type. It is possible that the EI I sherds found at the smaller site of ez-Za'ferân, may have originally come from this larger structure. The southern slope below Bldg. I at the larger

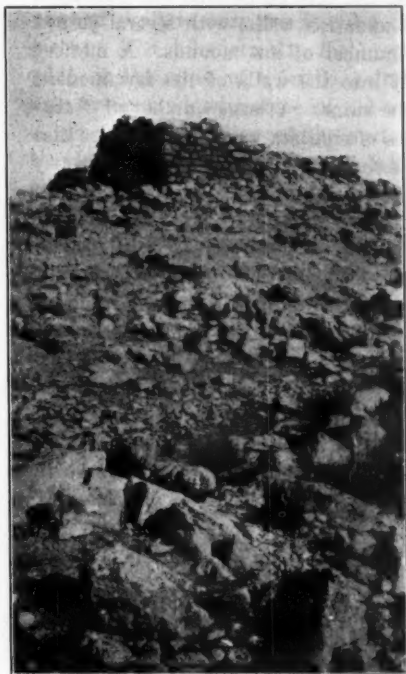


Fig. 13 c.

Qaṣr ez-Za'ferân II, looking northwest.

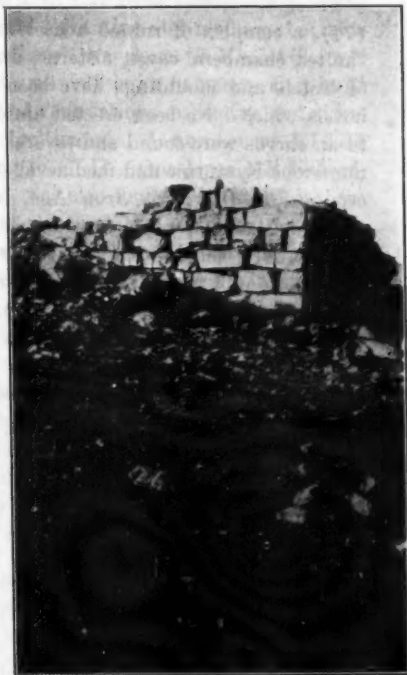


Fig. 13 d.

Qaṣr ez-Za'ferân I, looking northwest.

ez-Za'ferân was particularly rich in EI I-II potsherds. On the eastern side of the site, separated from it by a small *wādī*, are the ruins of a house, which, to judge from its construction, belongs to the same period as the Nabataean stronghold.

Kh. Nītl⁷⁴ (73) is three kilometres north of ez-Za'ferân; it is a small Arabic settlement in a cultivated area. Modern houses and tents covered most

⁷⁴ PA II, p. 335.

of the site, although a few ruined houses and foundation walls were visible here and there. A number of all types of Nabataean sherds were found, in addition to some mediaeval Arabic fragments. Below the village, to the west, is a large dam, the wall of which runs east-west across a small *wādī*. It is 1.20 metres high, and a metre thick.

Three kilometres southwest of Kh. Nīl lies Kh. ed-Deleilat esh-Sherqīyeh (74), a complex of ruined houses and foundation walls, with several ruined vaulted chambers, caves, cisterns, and a number of low mounds. A number of lintels and mouldings have been built into the walls of the few modern hovels which have been erected amidst the ruins. A large number of Nabataean sherds were found and several pieces of sigillata ware. There were also numerous Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds. The site was also evidently occupied in the Early Iron Age, because among the sherds picked up we discovered about ten pieces which belong definitely to EI I-II. Among them was one EI I sherd, with a black stripe painted over a cream slip, similar to the type found, for instance, by Albright at Tell el-Fāl.⁷⁵ No traces of walls or buildings from the Early Iron Age could be found, however, the remains of that period having evidently been completely covered up by the subsequent settlements on the site.

Five kilometres south-southeast of Kh. ed-Deleilat esh-Sherqīyeh lies Kh. el-Melīḥ ⁷⁶ (75). Here a number of modern houses have been built between and sometimes over some of the extensive ruins. The ruins consist of a large number of foundation walls of houses of various sizes, some of them with vaulted chambers, and a number of low mounds and caves and cisterns. Numerous Nabataean sherds were found and also some Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds. In the small valley below the site is a large, cemented cistern, called Bīr Melīḥ.

Eight kilometres west-northwest of Kh. el-Melīḥ we came to Kh. Libb ⁷⁷ (76), a large site on a prominent natural mound, which is situated in the center of a comparatively rich farming area. There are about thirty ruined, vaulted buildings, with a number of cisterns and caves among them. The walls of several approximately square buildings are still standing. Some old floor spaces have been cleared off and are being used as threshing floors today. Quantities of EI I-II sherds were found, including some decorated Moabite pieces. Excavations might reveal the Iron Age site buried beneath the accretions of later débris. Numerous Nabataean and Roman sherds were found, as well as some Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic pieces.

Three kilometres north-northeast of Libb we came to Kh. Ḥreidīn ⁷⁸ (77),

⁷⁵ ANNUAL IV, pl. XXXI: 7. ⁷⁶ PA I, p. 20. ⁷⁷ PA I, p. 20. ⁷⁸ PA I, p. 19.

a small, almost completely destroyed tower, about 4.50 metres square, on the left side of the Roman road, which is very clearly marked for considerable stretches between Libb and Mâdebâ. No sherds were found, but it is probably a Roman post. Four kilometres farther north we came to Mereijmet el-Gharbîyeh ⁷⁹ (78), where there is a small squalid settlement. A few featureless ruins and abandoned cisterns testify to earlier occupation. One piece of sigillata ware was found and several Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic pieces. Five kilometres to the north-northeast, we came to Kh. et-Teim ⁸⁰ (79), in the midst of a fertile, cultivated area. It is an extensive site, built on a low mound, with some ruined walls and foundations on its top and sides. A considerable portion of the surface is cultivated. A number of EI I-II sherds were found, most of them belonging to EI II. One large MB I sherd, covered with a red slip and hand-burnished, was also found. In addition there were numerous Nabataean and Roman sherds and also fragments of later pottery. On the western side of the mound were several very large cave cisterns. Seven kilometres south-southwest of et-Teim we camped at a site called by a passing Arab Uṭba'îyeh (80). There were two large stone circles there, each measuring eighteen metres in diameter. There was also a rectangular stone enclosure, seemingly of early origin, measuring eighteen by twenty-five metres. No sherds were found.

May 31. From this point we proceeded north-northwest for two kilometres to Hajr Maṣṣûb ⁸¹ (81), and then a kilometre southwest to the menhir and dolmen field of el-Megheirât ⁸² (82). Four kilometres northeast of el-Megheirât we came to Mâ'in ⁸³ (83), a large mound with a large modern village on its summit. The earliest sherds found were Byzantine and Arabic. Two kilometres northeast of Mâ'in we came to Qaṣr el-Werd (84), where there are some small, indeterminate ruins and a large cistern. No sherds were found. From there we drove, via Mâdebâ, fourteen kilometres northeast to Umm el-'Amad ⁸⁴ (85), a squalid modern village situated on the top and sides of a large mound. There are some vestiges of earlier ruins. A careful search among the masses of débris resulted in the finding of one MB I sherd, several worn EI I-II sherds, a small number of Nabataean and Roman pieces, and quantities of mediaeval Arabic sherds.

A number of sites were examined south of the Wâdî eth-Themed which repeated in general the history of the settlements investigated in the area between 'Ammân and the Wâdî eth-Themed.

⁷⁹ M, pp. 234-5.

⁸⁰ M, p. 125.

⁸¹ EP, p. 186.

⁸² EP, pp. 187-9.

⁸³ M, pp. 397-9.

⁸⁴ M, p. 349.

June 1. Twelve kilometres west of Khân ez-Zebîb on the railway we came to the Nabataean platform-altar of el-Meseitbeh⁸⁵ (87). Five kilometres south-southwest of el-Meseitbeh we passed a small ruined watch-tower (88), and about four kilometres farther south-southeast we came to Qaşr eth-Thrayyā⁸⁶ (89), a fortress-like *khân*, practically 35 metres square, oriented north-south. There are four corner towers, with an entrance in the center of the eastern wall. There is a solid mass of tumbled masonry on the inside at the center of the western wall.⁸⁷ The walls are built of rows of roughly dressed, rectangular blocks of stone, with small flat stones separating the rows from one another. There are traces of plaster on the inside of the walls. The type of construction of the walls is similar to that of Qaşr Kharāneh, an Omayyad castle of the eighth century A. D.⁸⁸ Only a few nondescript sherds were found. The general plan of Qaşr eth-Thrayyā is similar to that of Qaşr Beshir.⁸⁹

Four kilometres south of Qaşr eth-Thrayyā is Qaşr ed-Dirseh⁹⁰ (90), overlooking Wādî el-Kharazeh. A passing Bedouin called it Qaşr Sweilf. Qaşr el-Āl and Qaşr el-Kharazeh can be seen from Qaşr ed-Dirseh, which is a ruined watch-tower, oriented north-south. It is 8.20 metres square and is preserved to a height of 3.60 metres; there is a doorway near the center of the eastern side. No pottery was found. Returning to Qaşr eth-Thrayyā, we drove north-northwest five kilometres, stopping at a nameless cairn, where, however, no pottery was found.

June 2. Six kilometres northwest of Qaşr eth-Thrayyā lies Sâliyah^{90a} (92), overlooking the Wādî Sâliyah from the north. It is an extensive site, built on a flat-topped rise at the southern edge of a fairly fertile plateau. Umm er-Raşāṣ⁹¹ is on the northern side of the plateau, and Jemeil⁹² on the western side. There were two main periods of settlement at Sâliyah, the one belonging to the Early Iron Age and the other to the Nabataean Age. Quantities of sherds were found belonging to both periods. In the western half of the site there were many badly ruined buildings, with numerous cisterns and low mounds between them (see plan of Sâliyah, Pl. 6). Approximately in the center of this complex of buildings there is a large ruined stronghold, built on an earlier foundation and called Qaşr Sâliyah (see plan of Qaşr Sâliyah, Pl. 5). This *qaşr*, whose corners are oriented approximately

⁸⁵ See below, pp. 40 ff.

⁸⁶ PA II, pp. 62-3.

⁸⁷ For the plan of Qaşr eth-Thrayyā see PA II, p. 63.

⁸⁸ AJA XXXVII: 3, pl. XXXIX, fig. 2.

^{89a} PA II, p. 324; M, p. 330.

⁸⁹ PA II, pp. 49-59.

⁹¹ See below, p. 39.

⁹⁰ M, pp. 145-6.

⁹² See below, p. 36.

to the points of the compass, is much similar to Qaṣr ez-Za'ferān I.⁹³ It was a Nabataean fortress, to judge from the quantities of Nabataean sherds found around it. The foundations upon which it was built probably belong to an earlier structure, which, to judge from some of the sherds found nearby, is to be assigned to the Early Iron Age. Parts of the walls of the Iron Age building seem to have been incorporated into the Nabataean structure. Traces of a revetment belonging to the Iron Age building are visible (Fig. 14).



Fig. 14. Qaṣr Sāliyah, looking west.

A mass of débris at the northeastern corner of the *qaṣr* made it impossible to trace the wall there. Near the eastern corner is a huge cistern. The Iron Age sherds found around the slight eminence on which the *qaṣr* is built belong to EII-I and include a considerable number of decorated Moabite sherds. At the southeastern corner of the site there was a large ancient dump-heap on a mound which sloped down into a small, dry *wādī* below it. On the surface of this dump-heap we found large quantities of sherds belonging almost exclusively to EII-I and including many decorated Moabite sherds. Fragments of several pottery animal figurines were found, including the well-moulded head of a ram (see above, Fig. 13 a). There was also a fragment of a figure astride an animal, similar to the type of figurines of mounted deities found at el-Medeiyneh. A small sounding was made on top

⁹³ See pl. 5.

of the dump-heap, resulting in the finding of the same type of EI I-II sherds as were found on the surface. Immediately southwest and northeast of this dump-heap there were a number of ruined buildings. Several Nabataean sherds were also found on the dump-heap, but most of the Nabataean sherds found at Sâliyah came from the western half of the site.

Six kilometres south of Sâliyah, we came to another site called el-Medeiyneh⁹³ (93), situated on an isolated knoll at the point where the Wâdi Sâliyah and the Wâdi Sa'ideh meet, the one coming from the north and the other from the east, to form the Seil es-Sefei, which joins the Wâdi el-Môjib below Lehûn. The knoll is completely cut off from the mainland of the plateaus surrounding it, with which its top is level.⁹⁴ On the north, northeast, and west it is bounded by the Wâdi Sâliyah, which is about 170 metres deep, and on the south by the still deeper Wâdi Sa'ideh. The only possible connection with the mainland is by a narrow ridge on the eastern side. This narrow ridge, which had already partly fallen in when the site was visited by Musil in 1900 and again in 1901, has now been completely swept away by the winter freshets. Even when the small connecting ridge was intact, there was but a narrow, connecting passageway from the mainland to the top of the almost completely isolated out-spur. El-Medeiyneh was a large Nabataean acropolis, surrounded by a wall which was further strengthened by towers. Ruins of buildings cover the entire enclosed area, and there were numerous cisterns. Large quantities of Nabataean sherds were found. Several pieces of sigillata ware were also picked up.

Five kilometres northwest of Sâliyah is Kh. el-Jemeil⁹⁵ (94). It is an extensive site, covered with a maze of ruins. A number of arches are still standing. There are a number of low mounds and numerous cisterns scattered throughout the site, which is inhabited today by two Arab families. That Jemeil was occupied in the Early Iron Age is evident from some characteristic EI I-II sherds which we found there, including a number of decorated Moabite sherds. Jemeil might well be, therefore, the Beth-Gamul in Moab mentioned in Jer. 48, 23, as has been suggested. A smoothed pottery fragment, decorated with a lotus blossom, was found at Jemeil; it probably belongs to the Early Iron Age (Fig. 15 b). Quantities of Nabataean sherds, some fragments of sigillata ware, and some Byzantine sherds were also found. None of the area surrounding Jemeil is cultivated today, except several patches scratched and planted by the few Arabs living on the site. Jemeil was once, however, the center of an intensively cultivated area. This is

⁹³ M, pp. 247, 328.

⁹⁴ PA II, p. 72.

⁹⁵ For a plan of el-Medeiyneh see M, p. 328.

evidenced by the many fields in the immediate vicinity of Jemeil which are cleared of stones and surrounded with stone fences. As a matter of fact, these cleared fields and separating boundary and terrace walls stretch all the way to Umm er-Raşâs.

Four kilometres west-northwest of Jemeil lies Kh. el-Mesheirfeh (95), a small site, consisting of several ruined buildings, low mounds, and abandoned cisterns, in addition to several modern houses. Numerous Nabataean sherds of all kinds were found, in addition to a piece of sigillata ware with a tree impression on it. Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds were also abundant.

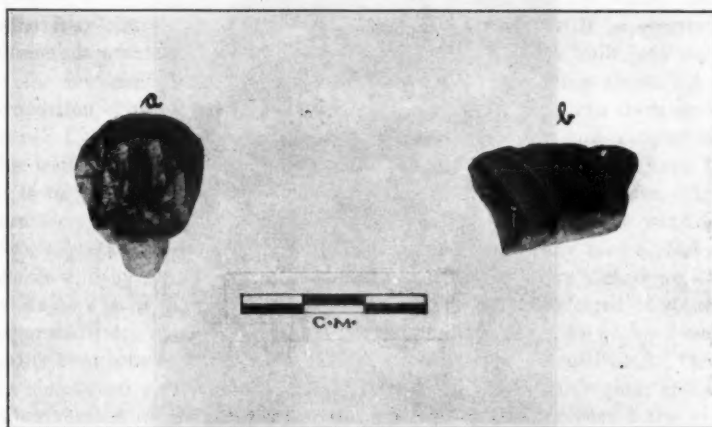


Fig. 15. Pottery fragment with lotus blossom decoration from Jemeil.

The most interesting object which we found there was a stone from the upper right-hand corner of a large plaque with a male bust in relief, very similar to the one which is visible in Kerak.⁹⁷ The stone, which measures 16 by 12.50 centimetres, was built into the wall of an incomplete modern house (now used as a sheepfold), directly above the doorway (Fig. 16). Set into the wall immediately above the relief is a dentilated lintel, similar to the one which we found at Umm el-Walid and to the decoration of the pilaster cap which we found at Barzah. The relief is probably much older than the lintel above it. It may well belong to the first century A. D., while the lintel with its decoration of dentils may be Byzantine. The relief has been wantonly and

⁹⁷ M, p. 53, fig. 18, and p. 54.

seriously damaged, the entire head of the bust having been smashed off in much the same manner as that of the Kerak relief. The toga-like garment of the figure is fastened on the right shoulder with a rosette. The arms and breasts are bare.

We next proceeded to er-Râmeh (96), an ancient Ramah, three kilometres

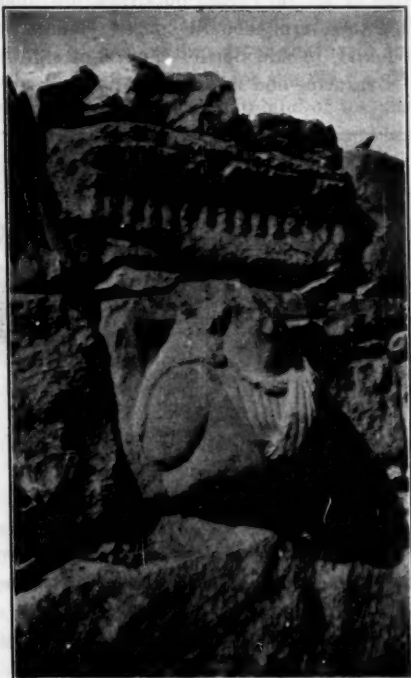


Fig. 16. A relief built into the wall of a modern house at Kh. el-Mesheirfeh.

southeast of Jemeil. It is 850 metres above sea level, being the highest point in the vicinity. There are a number of ruined buildings on the top of the hill, with some very large cisterns among them. Large quantities of Nabataean pottery were found. There were also some pieces of sigillata ware, including one piece with a leaf impression, similar to that found at Kh. el-Mesheirfeh.

June 3. Two kilometres northwest of er-Râmeh we came to the ruins of a small tower (97), near which there was also a stone circle measuring 9.40

metres in diameter. No sherds were found. Three kilometres farther north-northeast we came to another small heap of ruins called Rujm Dā'in (98). No sherds were found. From there we proceeded five kilometres westward to el-Lehūn⁹⁸ (99), overlooking the Wādī el-Môjib from the north.

June 5. Four kilometres northeast of Jemeil lies Umm er-Rašâş (108), which has been frequently visited and adequately described.⁹⁹ It is a very large walled town, filled with ruins and dotted with cisterns. The walls are flanked with intermittent towers and present a formidable appearance. They were rather loosely built, however, of roughly dressed, rectangular blocks of stone, and could not have afforded much protection. The walled city contains four churches. The apses of the churches can still be clearly seen. Numerous architectural stones were found, some of them built into the walls of the few modern buildings there, and others were lying about. A large proportion of these stones had Maltese crosses either cut into them or carved in relief on them. There were also numerous buildings and cisterns outside the walls to the north. Large quantities of Byzantine sherds were found. It is to the Byzantine period that most of the ruined site belongs. A small number of mediaeval Arabic sherds were also found. That there was however, also, a pre-Byzantine occupation of the site is attested by several Nabataean sherds and by several pieces of sigillata ware which were picked up. Umm er-Rašâş was in the midst of a cultivated area. Fields cleared of stones and separated from one another by walls surround the city. As we have seen, the entire area between Jemeil and Umm er-Rašâş was once cultivated. It is now an abandoned waste land. With regard to this particular region, and all the other regions in Transjordan in which our researches indicated the presence of a considerable number of communities during various periods, but which are now more or less completely abandoned, we repeat that the changes are due not to natural but to human factors. What Rathjens and Wissmann have pointed out with regard to the cultural and economic ruin of ancient cultural centers in Yemen is applicable also to Transjordan. They state, according to Professor James A. Montgomery, that this change "is to be attributed not to change of climate but to the abandonment of the ancient intensive exploitation and economy of the natural water supply." This appears, as Professor Montgomery points out, "to be the general opinion of Arabian explorers as over against quite prevalent theories of alternating periods of wet and dry reaching even into historic times."¹⁰⁰

About one kilometre to the north of Umm er-Rašâş is a large, rock-hewn

⁹⁸ See pp. 48 f.

⁹⁹ M, p. 109; PA II, pp. 63-73, 334-5.

¹⁰⁰ JAOS, 53: 3, p. 290; Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible*, pp. 90-106.

reservoir. The stone taken from the quarry, which became the reservoir, was used for the construction of a small church and an impressive, high, square tower nearby, both decorated with Maltese crosses. The tower, with a Maltese cross enclosed in a circle on each of its sides, is known as Sarbût¹ (109).

A number of important sites were visited along the Wādī el-Môjib, the Arnon of the Bible. In looking for the highway along the Arnon river, mentioned by Mesha, the course of the river was followed from its headwaters practically to its outlet.

May 21. At the headwaters of the Wādī el-Môjib is 'Ain Lejjûn, a large spring which derives its name from the large ruined encampment of Lejjûn, a Roman military station,² immediately southeast of it. The waters of the spring flow into a basin built in Roman times. Both on May 21 and on July 14, when we visited el-Lejjûn (47) a second time, we looked in vain for the square platform of masonry which Doughty and others had seen and described,³ and which Domaszewski had photographed and planned.⁴ It was situated, according to the various descriptions, in the southwest part of Lejjûn on a rise. The description of the location fits that of the abandoned Turkoman settlement. The disappearance of the structure may be attributed to the fact that it was probably pulled down, and its stones used as building material, when the Turkoman settlement was erected.⁵ Fortunately for the identification of the structure, however, two similar ones were discovered, one of them about thirty kilometres northeast of Lejjûn, called el-Meşeiṭbeh (87), and the other about sixteen kilometres southeast of Lejjûn, called Ekhwein el-Khâdem (39).

June 1. El-Meşeiṭbeh is five kilometres southeast of Umm er-Raṣāṣ and twelve kilometres due west of Khân ez-Zebîb on the railway. It is a raised platform of masonry, twenty-one metres square and two and a half metres high. There are two flights of broad steps, one each on the northern and southern sides, leading to the top of the platform (Fig. 16). The outer walls of the platform are built of roughly cut, rectangular blocks of stone. The inside seemed to be filled up to the top with great masses of small stones. After removing some of them, however, it became apparent that the platform was not made of solid masonry but contained vaulted chambers. The certainty of the presence of at least one vaulted chamber in this building was established

¹ M, p. 109; PA II, p. 71.

² PA II, pp. 24-38.

³ PA II, pp. 24-5; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Vol. I, p. 20.

⁴ PA II, pp. 36-8; cf. RB, 1898, p. 437.

⁵ *Bulletin*, No. 51, pp. 15-6.

by finding a blocked, vaulted doorway in the north wall, to the west of the staircase (see plan of el-Meseiṭbeh, Pl. 7). The platform of the similar building at Lejjûn, according to Domaszewski, is also supported by vaults.⁶ One of the most characteristic features of the many Nabataean sites visited was the presence of vaulted chambers. We pulled down the wall blocking the doorway of the building at el-Meseiṭbeh but could not penetrate into the building because of the mass of débris behind the doorway. The voussoir left in place on the right side of the doorway had several faint *wasm* signs on it,

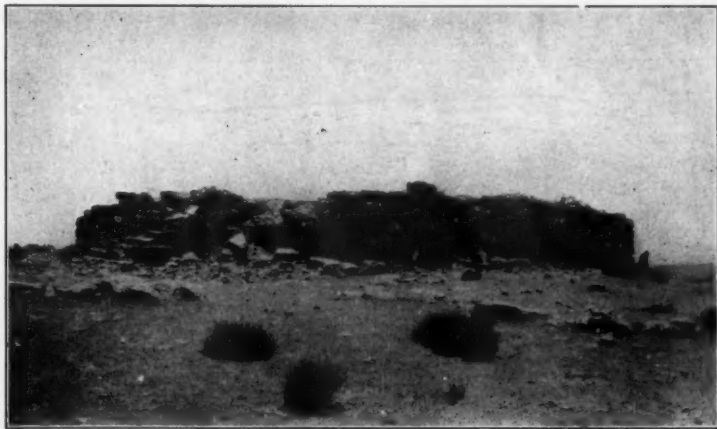


Fig. 10 a. El-Meseiṭbeh looking southeast.

incised by Arabs, who had probably buried one of their number in the vaulted chamber inside the platform-like building and had then blocked up the doorway. Similarly at Lejjûn Domaszewski found that Bedouin had been buried in the vaulted chambers beneath the platform of the building there.⁷ On top of the platform at el-Meseiṭbeh, as indeed also at Lejjûn, there may have been a chamber or an altar, which has disappeared in the course of time. The platform is in the southeast corner of a large quadrangle, whose foundation walls are still largely intact, except on the southern side. Inside this quadrangle are foundation walls of houses and courts, many of which may have been built after the time in which the platform was originally used. A considerable number of Nabataean sherds and pieces of sigillata were found

⁶ PA II, p. 36.

⁷ PA II, p. 36.

in the immediate vicinity of the platform, which also is probably Nabataean in origin. A short distance northeast of the platform is a large cemented *birkeh*, measuring 27 by 12 metres and 9 metres deep,⁸ with steps inside of it leading down from its northwest corner (Fig. 17). The cement, which still covers the steps and large portions of the inner walls of the *birkeh*, contains large numbers of plain, coarse sherds. The *birkeh* is surrounded on the outside by mounds of earth, excavated when it was dug, which deflect the rain-water into it. Near its southeast end is a channel leading to an opening in the wall through which the water ran into it. The *birkeh* seems to postdate the platform-building. It is somewhat similar to the one at Umm

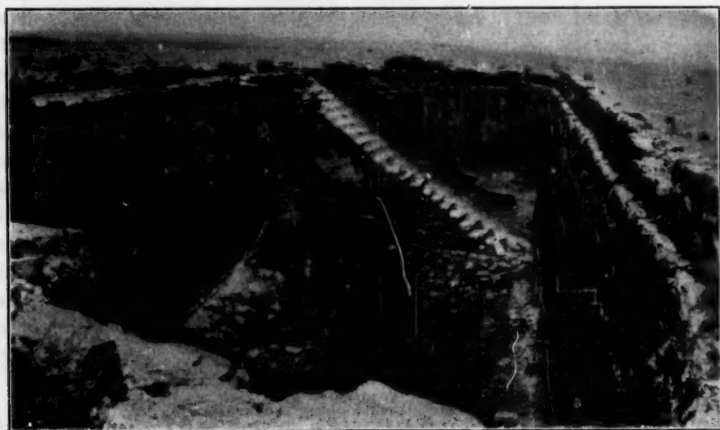


Fig. 17. Birkeh at el-Meseitbeh.

er-Rasâs and may belong to the Byzantine period. To the west of the *birkeh* are several large, cemented cave-cisterns.

At Ekhwein el-Khâdem, which we visited on May 21, there is another masonry platform, practically square, which is very much like the one at el-Meseitbeh (see plan of Ekhwein el-Khâdem, Pl. 8). It is dry-built of small, rectangular blocks of basalt. Approximately in the center of the north and south sides of the platform and leading to its top are monumental flights of steps which are altogether out of proportion with the rest of the building. They are built of large, well-squared slabs of hard limestone, as at el-Meseitbeh. Flanking the lowest steps are large, rectangular limestone blocks. These may

⁸ PA II, pp. 72-3.

have served as pediments for pilasters at the head of the staircase.⁹ The large slabs forming the steps were placed over a foundation of smaller basalt blocks (Fig. 18). The top of the structure was flat and covered with masses of flat stones, which defied our brief efforts to dig through them. A number of holes had evidently been made by Bedouin, who also had attempted to dig through the mass of stone rubbish, which was level with the top surface of the outside walls. A careful examination of the walls failed to reveal the presence of a doorway, such as had been found in Qaṣr el-Meṣeṭbeh. It seems probable,



Fig. 18. Qaṣr Ekhwein el-Khâdem, steps on north side.

however, in view of the construction of the related buildings at Lejjûn and el-Meṣeṭbeh, that the flat roof of Qaṣr Ekhwein el-Khâdem also rested on one or more vaulted chambers. On the east side is a large courtyard, whose wall foundations are still discernible. There is an entrance on the north side. On the outside of the entrance, at its right as one emerges from the courtyard, there is a large basin, made of large slabs of limestone. When the basin was almost full, the water in it overflowed through an open stone channel into a large, long watering trough inside the courtyard. Water was supplied to the basin through a conduit, which led northeast up a gradual slope for about 275 metres to a very large, cemented cave-cistern, called Bîr en-Nâyim. The cistern has two openings, a short distance removed from one another. Channels

⁹ PA II, p. 38.

cut into the rock of the hillside above it conducted the rain-water into it. Close to the cistern are two large stone watering troughs.

These masonry platforms built over vaulted chambers at el-Meseitbeh and at Ekhwein el-Khâdem, with their adjacent courtyards, are completely isolated units. Each of them, as we shall see, is at the eastern edge of a district dotted with Nabataean sites. No pottery was found at Ekhwein el-Khâdem, but the painted and plain Nabataean sherds and the fragments of sigillata ware from el-Meseitbeh may be taken as indicative also of the date of the structure at Ekhwein el-Khâdem. In addition, the structure of the walls in both places is strikingly similar to that of the walls of numerous other Nabataean sites. It seems probable therefore that the masonry platform at Lejjûn is also Nabataean. Domaszewski designates this building at Lejjûn as an altar.¹⁰ Sacrifices were undoubtedly offered upon the platform at Lejjûn or upon an altar built on top of the platform,¹¹ as also at the other two sites. It seems to us, however, that these buildings with their vaulted chambers served primarily as burial places of important personages, and that in connection with the burials there was practiced a cult of the dead. A priest may have resided on each site, and pilgrims with their animals were lodged in the courtyards adjacent to the platforms.^{11a}

July 14. Immediately west of 'Ain Lejjûn, on the slope and top of the hill which rises behind it, we found a tremendous walled Bronze Age site. It is oriented east and west and measures approximately 700 by 250 metres (see plan of this Bronze Age site, Pl. 9). On the northeastern slope a part of the ancient wall was found, together with the supporting revetment below it. The line of the wall enclosing the site is clearly visible, with towers at various parts, particularly on the southern and most vulnerable side. The northern side of the hill on which the fortress is built slopes precipitously to a *wâdi* below it. There is an inner acropolis at the southwestern end of the site, roughly rectangular in shape. It has four corner towers, the westernmost one being an exceedingly large one. There is a group of three towers along the part of the south wall which fronts the Turkoman settlement. This part of the wall had to be strongly protected, because the slope from the edge of wall to the point where the later Turkoman buildings were erected is a gradual one. The enemy might be expected to approach the fortress from this side. The eastern end of the site, nearest the spring, is also strongly protected.

¹⁰ PA II, p. 36.

¹¹ Cf. Maspero, G.: *The Struggle of the Nations*, p. 425; *The Passing of the Empires*, p. 592.

^{11a} [These platforms afford an interesting basis for comparison with the enigmatic *Qubûr bani Isra'în* near Hizmeh.—M. B.]

There are three towers on the southeastern side and two on the northeastern. The east wall has for the most part disappeared. The slope of the hill between the spring and the east wall is strewn thickly with sherds belonging to the end of the Early Bronze and to the beginning of the Middle Bronze, that is, from about the twenty-third to the twentieth centuries B. C.¹² In a letter dated November 27, 1933, Dr. Albright wrote to me: "The occupation at Ader may be dated between 2200 and 1800 B. C., roughly speaking, and that at Lejjûn between 2200 and 2000 B. C., with a small possible extension upward and downward" (see now *Bulletin*, No. 53, pp. 13 ff.).



Fig. 19. Massēbôth at Lejjûn.

On the slope below the northwest corner of the site is a gently curved row of sixteen massēbôth, aligned north and south. A number of them have fallen down (Fig. 19). Eleven of the monoliths are still standing. Two monoliths have been either covered up or washed away, because previous visitors have noted eighteen monoliths.¹³ The monoliths are uncut limestone blocks, most of them being about a metre and a half high. They probably belong to a sanctuary, which resembles that of Gezer.¹⁴ These pillars could not possibly have been house supports or hitching posts. No sherds were found near them. They probably belong to the same period as ascribed to the Bronze Age site of Lejjûn. A group of monoliths was found by Albright and Kyle at the Bronze Age sanctuary of Bab ed-Drâ'.¹⁵ At Ader¹⁶ (143), which we visited

¹² *Bulletin*, No. 51, p. 15.

¹³ PA II, p. 38.

¹⁴ Macalister, *Gezer*, Vol. II, pp. 385-394.

¹⁵ *Bulletin*, No. 14, p. 10.

¹⁶ *Bulletin*, No. 51, p. 17.

on July 13, and which is eight kilometres northeast of Kerak, there is a Bronze Age sanctuary which was visited by Albright in 1924.¹⁷ He made soundings there in November 1933.¹⁸ Three large monoliths are to be seen northeast of the modern Christian village, being separated from it by a small *wādi*. Between and around the three monoliths we found a small number of sherds belonging to the last phase of Early Bronze and to the first part of Middle



Fig. 20. Menhir at Ader, looking southeast.

Bronze I. The one upright monolith is 4.50 metres high, 40 centimetres thick, and tapering in width from 1.40 metres at its base to one metre at a height of two metres and about 60 centimetres at the top. A little below the center of its eastern face there is a deep groove. Near this menhir are two more lying on the ground. One is 3.80 metres long, 40 centimetres thick, and one metre wide. The other menhir has practically the same measurements (Fig. 20). The upright menhir at Ader is somewhat similar to the one called

¹⁷ APB, pp. 142, 224; *Bulletin*, No. 14, p. 10; M, p. 27. ¹⁸ *Bulletin*, No. 53, pp. 13 ff.

Ḥajr Maṣṣûb¹⁹ (81), which we saw at el-Megheirât (82) when we visited that place on May 21, 1933 (Fig. 21). On the north side of the modern village at Ader we found a low flat mound, which was being ploughed. On it and around it were very large quantities of sherds similar to those found between the menhirs. The Bronze Age site covers about ten acres.²⁰



Fig. 21. Ḥajr Maṣṣûb at el-Megheirât.

On the edge of the plateau, opposite the *maṣṣebôth* of Lejjûn and the Bronze Age fortress on the top of the hill above them, and separated from them by a deep dry *wâdî*, is Kh. el-Fityân (150). We visited it on July 14. It is a large rectangular enclosure with four corner towers and had originally a buttress tower in the center of each wall, except the north one, where the

¹⁹ Conder, EP, I, p. 186. [With the grooves in these stones compare that of Pillar No. VII at Gezer.—M. B.]

²⁰ *Bulletin*, No. 51, pp. 17-8.

entrance in the center of the wall is flanked by two towers. Vincent's²¹ and Domaszewski's²² plans show a tower near the middle of the south wall, a corner tower at the southeastern and another at the southwestern end of the of the south wall, extending beyond its line. At the present time there are no towers whatsoever extending beyond the line of the south wall. Perhaps the towers and parts of towers visible in the plans of Vincent and Damaszewski, but no longer present, were merely built against the south wall, not bonded into it, and have simply fallen away and disappeared. A path, still frequently used, leads past Kh. el-Fityân and down to 'Ain Lejjûn. Only a few non-descript sherds were found. Kh. el-Fityân was probably used to quarter some of the Roman troops, whose main camp was at Lejjûn.²³

June 3. Overlooking the Wādī el-Môjib from the north is the extensive Bronze Age and Nabataean site of el-Leḥûn (99) (see plan of el-Leḥûn, Pl. 10). The Bronze Age and Nabataean areas are separated from one another by a small *wādī*, running west-east, which joins the Wādī el-Leḥûn. The southern, purely Bronze Age site, which fronts the Wādī el-Môjib, consists of two walled areas, oriented north and south and separated from one another by a small *wādī* which runs north and south. In this *wādī* and at the north-eastern corner of the eastern half of the Bronze Age site large quantities of sherds were found, which belong exclusively to the period extending from the latter part of Early Bronze to near the end of Middle Bronze I, that is from about the twenty-third to about the nineteenth century B. C. Smooth ledge-handles were found, as well as ledge-handles of the degenerate form which represents the final stage in their history.²⁴ A stone circle is visible half-way down the precipitous slope below the western half of the Bronze Age area. Also visible from the Bronze Age area of el-Leḥûn is the mouth of the Seil esh-Sheqifât, which runs into the Wādī el-Môjib from the south. It leads close to Kh. Bālû'ah. One way of getting to Kh. Bālû'ah from el-Leḥûn would be to follow the path which leads down from el-Leḥûn to the Wādī el-Môjib and then southward through the Seil esh-Sheqifât. Such paths are used by the Arabs today. El-Leḥûn occupies an important strategic position,²⁵ guarding one of the main approaches to the Wādī el-Môjib. It is not certain that the walls in the Bronze Age area of el-Leḥûn, only the foundation stones of which are left, originated in the Bronze Age. It is probable, however, that they did, because only Bronze Age sherds of the period described were found there.

Immediately north of the Bronze Age site of el-Leḥûn, and completely

²¹ RB, 1898, p. 438.

²² PA II, pp. 38-9.

²³ PA II, p. 38.

²⁴ ANNUAL XII, pl. 3, nos. 38-40; pl. 4, no. 35; there is no copper slag at el-Leḥûn as reported in JAOS 54, p. 172, n. 17.

²⁵ PA I, p. 32.

separated from it by the intervening small *wādī*, is an extensive Nabataean site extending on both sides of the Wādī el-Leḥūn, which runs through it from north to south and joins the Wādī el-Môjib. Both halves of the Nabataean site are dotted with ruins of large and small buildings, which would require extensive excavation before they could be planned. On the eastern side were the ruins of one particularly fine small building, constructed of large, well cut, and embossed limestone blocks. There were many large cemented cisterns scattered throughout the Nabataean area. It seems that the residents of the southern half of el-Leḥūn in the Bronze Age must have brought up their water from the Wādī el-Môjib, as do the Arabs today who reside in various



Fig. 21 a. 'Arâ'ir, looking south.

places overlooking the Wādī el-Môjib. Large quantities of all kinds of Nabataean sherds were found in the northern half of el-Leḥūn.

Nine kilometres west-northwest of el-Lejjūn is 'Arâ'ir ²⁶ (100), overlooking the Wādī el-Môjib from the north. It is identified with the biblical Aroer.²⁷ A good track led between Leḥūn and 'Arâ'ir, running parallel to the Wādī el-Môjib. It could well be the line of the highway built by Mesha, king of Moab. There is a small Arab settlement at 'Arâ'ir today. A short distance to the west of the modern town, on a low, small mound, are the remains of ancient Aroer. The slope beneath the mound falls precipitously to the bed of the Wādī el-Môjib (Fig. 21 a). On top of the mound are the walls of a

²⁶ M, pp. 329-332; see p. 329, fig. 152 for plan.

²⁷ *Bulletin*, No. 49, p. 28; No. 51, p. 12; PA I, p. 32.

large building, perhaps a fortress, 50.50 metres square. Inside these walls is a smaller structure of a later date, whose smaller walls are built on a higher level²⁸ (see plan of 'Arâ'ir, Pl. 11). The outer walls are built of large, crudely cut, rectangular stone blocks, somewhat similar to those of the walls of Meḏeibî.²⁹ It seems likely that the outer walls belong to the Early Iron Age, and that the inner walls are to be assigned to the Nabataean period. This would correspond also to the picture given by the sherds found and to the not uncommon practice of superimposing a Nabataean building upon an Early Iron Age building, as for example at Za'ferân, Sâliyah, and Meḏeibî. Numerous sherds were found belonging to the periods extending from the end of Early Bronze to the first part of Middle Bronze I. Most of the Bronze Age sherds were from Middle Bronze I, corresponding to various sherds found in the I-G levels at Tell Beit Mirsim.³⁰ A representative number of Early Iron I sherds and many characteristic Nabataean sherds were found, belonging probably to the outer and inner structures on the mound respectively. In addition Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds were picked up.³¹ At the western side of the mound there were several filled-in cisterns, which may well date from the Nabataean period. In all the periods in question the inhabitants of 'Arâ'ir probably drew upon the stream in the Wâdî el-Môjib for all or part of their water supply. We saw a large flock of goats coming up the hillside next to the mound on their way back to the village, having been led down earlier in the day to be watered at the Arnon.

June 4. A two-hour walk from 'Arâ'ir brought us down to the bottom of the Wâdî el-Môjib. About half-way down a megalithic stone circle was passed; no sherds were found near it. Crossing the Wâdî el-Môjib at the point where it is joined by the Seil eṣ-Şefei, half an hour's additional walk brought us to 'Ajam (101). A few Arabs live there. They were engaged in harvesting a meager grain crop, which had been sown on both sides of the Môjib stream. There were a few small ruins, represented by a mass of fallen walls and foundations built of crude basalt blocks. A small number of coarse mediaeval Arabic sherds were found. Returning from 'Ajam, we followed the Seil eṣ-Şefei eastward for about two kilometres, crossed the diminutive stream in it, and ascended the steep hillside on the northern side. About half-way up we came to the point on the map we had been looking for, called Umm Rummâneh (102). It consists of the ruin of a small watch tower, with a small withered tree growing in the center of it. No sherds were found near it.

²⁸ PA I, p. 32.

²⁹ *Bulletin*, No. 51, p. 12; *ANNUAL XII*, pl. 4, nos. 2, 3, 10; pl. 5, nos. 26-34; pl. 6, nos. 25, 26.

³⁰ See below, pp. 66 f.

³¹ *Bulletin*, No. 49, p. 28.

A long climb brought us to the top of the plateau, along which we walked to el-Leḥūn, and then back to 'Arâ'ir. We left 'Arâ'ir at 7.00 a. m. and returned at 2.00 p. m., having walked steadily most of the time. This is mentioned to give an idea of the distance between the sites.

At Dhībân³² (103), where Mesha once lived, about five kilometres northwest of 'Arâ'ir, there is an enormous mound, so covered with masses of mediaeval and modern Arabic débris that it was impossible to find sherds belonging to the Early Iron Age. Dr. Albright, however, when he visited the site previously, did succeed in finding a few Early Iron sherds there.³³ We found several pieces of sigillata ware and a few fragments of thin, reddish brown ware, which may have been Nabataean.

Six kilometres west of 'Arâ'ir is Kh. el-Mathlûtheh (104), overlooking the Wādī el-Môjib from the north; it is a small site, with the ruins of a few buildings. One of them must have originally been very large. The one intact section of wall belonging to it is two and a half metres thick. A few pieces of Nabataean ware were found, as well as several pieces of Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic ware. Situated in a district which is intensively cultivated today, it was impossible to find sherds of any earlier settlements which may have existed there.

Four kilometres northwest of Dhībân, overlooking the Seil Heidân, whose stream flows southwest into the Wādī el-Môjib, is Kh. esh-Sheqeiq (105). The Seil Heidân is the continuation of the Wādī eth-Themed. There is a modern hamlet at Kh. esh-Sheqeiq, built over the ruins of earlier settlements. A number of walls and door jambs, which may belong to Roman times, are visible. No traces of earlier settlements were found, perhaps because of the accumulations of modern débris.

June 5. A few kilometres northeast of Kh. esh-Sheqeiq is Shejeret Khalifeh (106). It is a small, uninhabited ruin, covered with modern débris. A few nondescript sherds were found which might have been Roman. One piece of sigillata was picked up. Immediately south of Shejeret Khalifeh is Kh. Barzah (107). There are a few inhabited houses there, some of them built over earlier ruins. Various architectural fragments from earlier buildings are built into the walls of the modern houses. There was one pilaster capital with a dentilated decoration, similar in type to architectural stones found at Umm el-Walid and at Kh. el-Mesheirfeh. There was part of a lintel with a rosette decoration encircled by a cord, at the other end of which a wreath is attached; it is similar to one I have seen built into the wall of a house at Fiq, in Syria.³⁴ A small stone altar was also found at Barzah, which is probably of Nabataean or Roman origin. A few Nabataean sherds were found.

³² M, p. 377.

³³ *Bulletin*, No. 49, p. 28; 51, p. 12.

³⁴ *Bulletin*, No. 50, p. 11.

July 13, 14. A considerable number of ancient settlements were found on the south side of the Wādī el-Môjib and on the deeply eroded plateau to the south of it, as far as the Wādī el-Ḥesā. About five kilometres north-northeast of Lejjûn, overlooking the point where the Wādī el-Môjib and the Wādī el-Lejjûn meet, is a large Bronze Age and Iron Age acropolis, known by the ubiquitous name of el-Medeiyneh (140). Like the Bronze Age site at Lejjûn, it seems hitherto to have escaped notice. Like Lejjûn, the position of el-Medeiyneh may be ascribed primarily to the availability of an unfailing water supply. It is also well situated from a strategic point of view, guarding the approach to the Wādī el-Môjib from the south. At the point where the Wādī el-Môjib and the Wādī Lejjûn meet there is a large spring known as the 'Ain Râs el-Môjib. A large deep pool has been formed where the waters from the spring and the Wādī Lejjûn come together. Constant use is made of these waters today. Although we did not encounter any Arabs during our stay at el-Medeiyneh, there is a well-worn path leading down from it to the spring and the stream below. The acropolis is oriented northeast and southwest (see plan of el-Medeiyneh, Pl. 12), and measures 360 by 125 metres. It is built on the top of a long spur, jutting out from the main plateau; it is slightly harp-shaped and widens out considerably at the eastern end. For purposes of defence the site was well chosen, being bounded on the southeast and east by the Wādī el-Lejjûn and the Wādī el-Môjib. The slopes of the hill on these sides are very precipitous. On the west and northwest sides it is bounded by a deep, dry *wādī*, which terminates at an overhanging rock-ledge with a sheer drop to the Wādī el-Môjib below. Only the west-southwest side of the spur is connected with the headland from which it extends. A wide, deep, dry moat was cut through the rock to isolate the acropolis also from this side. Commanding the moat is a large ruined tower, supported by a strong revetment (Fig. 22). The acropolis has a double wall surrounding it. The outer one, which originally probably encircled the entire acropolis, extends from the tower above the moat. It is built of rude blocks of limestone, some of them roughly squared, and a metre and a half wide. It is still fairly intact on the southeast side of the acropolis. The inner wall extends from a large rectangular tower fifty metres east of the moat-tower. This wall parallels the course of the outer wall. It is fairly intact on the west, northwest, and east sides of the acropolis. Extending inside the inner wall, behind the tower at its southwestern end, are a number of ruined buildings on either side of the acropolis. There are also a number of ruined buildings at the point where the acropolis widens out near its eastern end, and some at the easternmost end. There are ruins of a few small buildings on the outside of the inner wall on the southeastern side. Near the northwestern end of the acropolis

there is an extension of the outer wall, where the entrance to the acropolis may have been located. It is probable, to judge from the mass of debris above the wall at this point, that there was a small tower guarding the gate. This entrance led to a large open space between the moat-tower and the rectangular tower at the western end of the inner wall. The animals belonging to the members of the garrison and the other inhabitants of the acropolis may have been kept there during the night. Unfortunately, very few sherds could be found. It is doubtful, furthermore, if excavations on the site would bring many to light. The hillsides of the spur on which el-Medeiyneh is built are



Fig. 22. Tower at Kh. el-Medeiyneh, looking east.

so steep that the rains throughout the centuries have washed away almost all the sherds which are usually to be found on the slopes below such a site. We scoured the sides of the hill from top to bottom without finding a single sherd. On the very top of the hill, inside the fortification, where also most of the top soil has been washed away, a small number of exceedingly worn sherds were found. A few were also picked up immediately outside of the walls. Most of them belong to Early Iron I, and some to Early Iron II. A few of them belong to Middle Bronze I, and there are several sherds which may belong to Middle Bronze II. The present ruins of el-Medeiyneh probably belong to the Early Iron I period.

July 8. South of the Wādī el-Môjib, at a point practically opposite 'Arâ'ir, is Bālû'ah²⁵ (110), where the Bālû'ah stele was found four years ago by

²⁵ PA I, p. 326; M, p. 138; *Bulletin*, No. 51, pp. 16-7.

Mr. R. G. Head.³⁶ Kh. Bālū'ah is situated at a point overlooking the meeting place of the Wādī Bālū'ah and the Wādī Qurri,³⁷ which branch off from the Wādī esh-Sheqifāt. Kh. Bālū'ah occupies a strategic position, guarding the approaches to the Wādī el-Môjib, to which these smaller *wādīs* eventually lead. In the Wādī Bālū'ah, immediately below the northern slope of the plateau on which the ruins of Bālū'ah are situated, are a number of springs. Bālū'ah had already previously been studied and planned.³⁸ Our main concern was to collect whatever sherds could be found in an attempt to arrive at a comparatively exact date for the site, and if possible for the stele. Subsequently, between November 11 and 18, 1933, Mr. J. W. Crowfoot undertook some soundings there. The results he arrived at for the dating of the site and of the stele are in complete agreement with our own conclusions.³⁹ Bālū'ah is an extensive site, with a number of small ruins made of rude basalt blocks. There are four square towers at each corner of the building area, with a large *qaṣr* in the approximate center. The *qaṣr* is approximately square, with various extensions built against the north, east, and west walls.⁴⁰ The latter are made of large, uncut basalt blocks, and look rather like those of Qaṣr Za'ferān I. The corners of the main structure are particularly well built, with interlocking headers and stretchers of large, dressed basalt blocks, alternating with large dressed limestone blocks (Fig. 23). To judge from the nature of the walls, the *qaṣr* may be assigned to the Iron Age, and the extensions and reconstructions to the Nabataean period. Numerous Early Iron I sherds and a large number of Nabataean sherds were found around the *qaṣr*. Overlooking the Wādī Bālū'ah are remnants of the north wall of the city, some stretches of which are in excellent condition. Mr. Crowfoot's soundings proved that this wall was a part of a system of casemates, which were probably constructed in Early Iron I. This date was further substantiated by the sherds he found in the soundings immediately behind the north wall.⁴¹

On the western and southwestern sides of Bālū'ah there were a number of ruined buildings with vaulted chambers. Near them were a number of cave-cisterns and low mounds. That this was a Nabataean settlement was indicated also by numerous Nabataean sherds found near these ruins. As we have seen, the *qaṣr* was also used during the Nabataean period, when indeed it was probably added to. Byzantine and early mediaeval Arabic settlements were also built in the southwestern and western parts of Bālū'ah, over and next to

³⁶ RB, 1932, p. 417.

³⁷ M, p. 138.

³⁸ RB, 1932, pp. 417-44.

³⁹ PEFQS, April 1934, pp. 56-63.

⁴⁰ PEFQS, April, 1934, pp. 59-60.

⁴¹ PEFQS, April 1934, pp. 58-9.

the Nabataean ruins. Numerous Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds were picked up there.

The sherds gathered at Bālū'ah ranged from the late Early Bronze to mediaeval Arabic. Most of the sherds collected at Bālū'ah were found on ancient dump-heaps on the hillsides below the northern walls of the city.



Fig. 23. Bālū'ah—southwest corner of Qasr.

They belong exclusively to two periods, namely, from the last phase of the Early Bronze to the end of the first phase of Middle Bronze I, that is, from about 2200 to about 1800 B. C., and from the beginning of EI I down to the first part of EI II. The end of the occupation in the Middle Bronze I period is indicated by the degenerate wavy ledge-handles.⁴² No pottery whatsoever was found belonging to the periods between the end of Middle Bronze I and

⁴² ANNUAL XII, pp. 11, 12.

the very end of Late Bronze, that is, between the eighteenth and the thirteenth centuries B. C. The Early Iron Age pottery found extended from not before the middle of the thirteenth century B. C. to about the ninth century B. C.; it is almost exactly similar to that found at el-Medeiyneh by the Wādī eth-Themed.⁴³ Inasmuch as the Bālū'ah stele cannot possibly belong to the period between 2200 and 1800 B. C., its date, which has hitherto been arrived at from stylistic indications alone,⁴⁴ must be determined by the ceramic finds belonging to the Early Iron Age. It can therefore be assigned at the earliest to the latter part of the thirteenth century B. C.,⁴⁵ with the likelihood that it may be somewhat later. In agreement with this conclusion are the results of the brilliant study made by Drioton of the costumes of the Egyptianized figures on the Bālū'ah stele. He has proved that the probable date of the Bālū'ah stele is the twelfth century B. C.⁴⁶ This date is now generally accepted.⁴⁷

The similarity of the Early Iron Age pottery of Bālū'ah to that of el-Medeiyneh by the Wādī eth-Themed was further heightened, as we have seen,⁴⁸ by finding at Bālū'ah the pottery head of a male figurine almost exactly similar to the head found at el-Medeiyneh. It was picked up immediately above the wall overlooking the dump-heaps on the northern slopes of the site (Fig. 7 a, b). The fragment of an Astarte figurine holding some object or other in her hands was also found at Bālū'ah (Fig. 12).

July 9. Four kilometres northeast of Bālū'ah are the ruins of a small site called Kh. 'Azzūr (111). It is at the edge of the plateau overlooking the Wādī esh-Sheqeifāt from the east. A few Nabataean and Byzantine sherds were found there, as well as a well-preserved coin of Constantine the Great.

Three kilometres southwest of Bālū'ah are the ruins of a small site called Kh. Naṣīb⁴⁹ (112), on the west side of the Wādī Abū Za'rāreh, in a cultivated area. Several Nabataean sherds were found, one piece of sigillata ware, and several pieces of mediaeval Arabic pottery. Three kilometres northwest of Naṣīb is a small Arabic ruin called Kh. es-Sa'adūnī (113). Two kilometres north of it is a small ruined site called Kh. er-Rub'ī (114), where a few Nabataean sherds were found and numerous pieces of mediaeval Arabic ware. Two

⁴³ See above, pp. 13 ff.

⁴⁴ *Bulletin*, No. 49, p. 28; RB, 1932, p. 444.

⁴⁵ *Bulletin*, No. 51, p. 17.

⁴⁶ RB, 1933, pp. 353-365.

⁴⁷ *Bulletin*, No. 52, p. 19; PEFQS, April 1934, pp. 62-3.

⁴⁸ See above, p. 24.

⁴⁹ M, p. 140.

kilometres north of Kh. er-Rubī lies another indistinguishable ruin called Kh. ed-Denn, or ed-Denneh⁴⁹ (115). A kilometre farther north is Kh. es-Samrā (116), where there are extensive ruins from the Nabataean, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arabic periods. Characteristic sherds from all of these periods were found.

Ruins of a similar nature were found on the same straight line northward toward the Wādī el-Môjib at Kh. ed-Dribbān (117) and at Kh. Abū Trābeh (118). Kh. ed-Dribbān is two kilometres north of Kh. es-Samrā, and Kh. Abū Trābeh is about five kilometres northeast of Kh. ed-Dribbān. There are two main compounds at Kh. Abū Trābeh. They are approximately square, with the ruins of a number of buildings in them. Immediately to the south-west is a small *wādī*, which is dammed up on three sides to form a reservoir. No pottery was found. It seems to be an early Arabic site. All of the sites from Kh. es-Sa'adūnī to Kh. Abū Trābeh are either next to or but a short distance removed from Trajan's road, which in a number of places is still well preserved.

July 10. We followed the Roman road northward to the point where it commences its twisting descent into the Wādī el-Môjib. It led over a bridge during the Roman period. The foundations of the bridge have been seen and photographed.⁵⁰ To the right of the road, directly overlooking the Wādī el-Môjib, are the ruins of a large, square building, of which the foundations only remain. The site is called Meḥaṭṭet el-Ḥājj⁵¹ (119); it lies at a point nearly opposite 'Arā'ir on the northern side of the Wādī el-Môjib. There were comparatively few sherds, and most of them seemed to belong to the late Roman period. Several painted Nabataean sherds were also picked up. On the left side of the Roman road are the ruins of a small modern building, which was probably a Turkish police post.

Two kilometres south-southeast of Meḥaṭṭet el-Ḥājj is er-Riḥā (120). It is situated on the top of a hill and commands an extensive view to the east; it consists of a number of foundations of houses and walls and numerous cisterns, caves, and small mounds. There was a small quantity of Nabataean sherds, as well as some pieces of sigillata and some sherds belonging to the Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic periods.

Two kilometres due west of er-Riḥā lies Rujm Umm el-Qleib⁵² (121). It is but a short distance from the Wādī el-Môjib, southwest of Meḥaṭṭet el-Ḥājj, and consists of a small tower about seven metres square, which is surrounded by a circular revetment (see plan of Rujm Umm el-Qleib, Pl. 13).

⁴⁹ M, p. 376.

⁵⁰ PA I, pp. 36-7.

⁵¹ For the plan of the building see PA I, p. 44.

⁵² M, p. 376.

There are traces of a wall which once surrounded the entire site and of the ruins of various buildings inside of it. The site lies on a slight rise between two small *wādīs*, which come together northwest of the site to form a deep *wādī* running northward into the Wādī el-Môjib. A large amount of pottery was found, particularly on the north and northeast sides of the tower, belonging to the end of Early Bronze and to the beginning of Middle Bronze I. The pottery paralleled particularly that found at el-Lebûn, overlooking the Wādī el-Môjib from the north. A number of Nabataean sherds were also found, including a painted piece. They probably explain the ruined foundations at the western end of the site and the large cistern with two openings at the northwestern edge of the site, at the head of a small *wādī*. This small Bronze Age site probably served to guard the approach to the Wādī el-Môjib, which in Roman times was controlled by the Meḥaṭṭet el-Ḥājj.

About seven kilometres west-southwest of Rujm Umm el-Qleib are the ruins of Kh. Miṣ'ar (122) and Freiwân^{ss} (123). Kh. Miṣ'ar is on the right bank of the Wādī Jedeirah, and Freiwân is on the left bank, at the point where the Wādī Freiwân and the Wādī Jedeirah meet. Kh. Miṣ'ar is the site of a large ruined settlement, which consists of a complex of ruined houses and foundation walls, with a large number of cemented cisterns and caves. It is divided into two sections by a small *wādī*, which joins the Wādī Jedeirah. In the eastern section, near a cistern, there was found a large stone watering trough, similar to those of the Nabataean site of Ekhwein el-Khâdem. A number of Nabataean sherds were found, and some of the ruins probably go back to the Nabataean period. Most of the ruins, however, belong to the early Arabic period, to judge from the large number of early Arabic sherds found. These ruins are evidently built on top of a much earlier site, which they completely cover. A considerable number of typical Early Bronze and Middle Bronze I sherds were found, extending approximately from the twenty-third to the nineteenth centuries B. C. There were also sherds from Early Iron I. At Freiwân a few sherds from all the periods mentioned were found, but the site is so covered with modern débris that it was impossible to find much. It may well be that the earlier sherds found at Freiwân were carried over, somehow or other, from Kh. Miṣ'ar.

About four kilometres west-southwest of Freiwân is Rujm Umm 'Awarwareh (?) (124), where there are some indistinguishable small ruins and a large cistern.

July 11. Four kilometres west of Rujm Umm 'Awarwareh is Rujm Umm el-Ḥelâl (?) (125). It is opposite Faqû'ah, being separated from it by a deep

^{ss} M, p. 376

dry *wādī*. There are some small ruined buildings there and a masonry *birkeh* at the northeast corner of the site. A large modern white-washed tomb distinguishes the site. Several Nabataean sherds were found and quantities of Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds.

We proceeded then about two kilometres north-northwest of this place, until the difficulties of the terrain made it impossible for the cars to advance any farther. Camp was made. We left at 7.10 a. m., walking along the descending course of a long spur, which terminates several kilometres farther west in a group of hills known as the Jebel el-Manârah.⁵⁴ Our Arab guide from Faqû'ah spoke of it as the Jebel el-Manârah. Ascending another spur which led to the highest point of the Jebel el-Manârah, we came to a small ruined site known as Rujm el-Manârah (126). A number of cairns and the ruins of what apparently had been small watch-towers were passed on the way up. We arrived at Rujm el-Manârah at 9.10 a. m. We found the ruins of a large tower there, oriented north and south; it is 12.80 metres square and is made of large, roughly dressed limestone blocks. Its walls are 1.20 metres thick. On the south side of the tower we found two stone door jambs. To the south of the building there is a level stretch extending for about two hundred yards. In the center of this level area there is a large cave-cistern. A large number of Nabataean sherds were found. The slope of the hill below the western side of the tower drops abruptly to the much lower hills facing the Dead Sea, which is clearly visible for most of its length. The slopes of the hill on the other sides are almost equally precipitous, affording the tower, or small fortress, a most strategic position, guarding the approaches to the Dead Sea. Several footpaths were visible from Rujm el-Manârah leading down to the Dead Sea. They are used occasionally by the Arabs of the Faqû'ah district, when they go to the Dead Sea to collect salt. This Nabataean stronghold helped guard the western side of the Nabataean kingdom facing the Dead Sea. Er-Râs, south of Rujm el-Manârah, which we visited the following day, fulfilled the same purpose of protecting the exposed parts of the Nabataean kingdom, as did the long line of Nabataean towers on the eastern frontier.

We left Rujm el-Manârah at 10.05 a. m. and following a footpath part of the way, headed north-northwest down the precipitous slopes leading to the Wādī el-Môjib, which we reached two hours later. Another half-hour's walk brought us to Dâr er-Riyâshī⁵⁵ (127), perched high on the top of a spur extending into the Wādī el-Môjib at a point east of the junction of the Wādī el-Môjib with the Seil Heidân. The spur is cut off on the northern, eastern, and southeastern sides by the Môjib stream. It is connected only by a nar-

⁵⁴ M, pp. 92-3.

⁵⁵ M, p. 135; PA I, p. 3.

row ridge to the mainland on the western side (see plan of Dâr er-Riyâshî, Pl. 14). The Dâr or Qasr, as it is sometimes called, is a rectangular structure, oriented northwest and southeast. It is built for the most part of large boulders taken from the stream bed, although a number of the basalt stones were roughly squared. The walls of the Dâr follow the natural contours of the bare rock. Portions of the walls, particularly on the southeastern side, which are still fairly intact, show signs of having been covered with plaster. Along the entire length of the inner side of the west-southwest wall of the Dâr is a row of chambers. On the northeastern side there are three chambers. These rooms face an inner court, paved with large, rude, roughly squared stone tesserae, several patches of which are still preserved. There are two large cisterns at either end of the court. Over the mouth of the cistern at the northwestern end is a large stone beam. The cistern at the southeastern end is blocked up with tumbled masonry. Near this cistern were two large stones, much weathered, with a Maltese cross cut into each of them. The pottery found belongs to the late Byzantine period. The isolated Dâr er-Riyâshî, extremely difficult of access, was undoubtedly a monastery. At the eastern edge of the Dâr there are distinct grooves in the practically perpendicular side of the spur, showing where water and possibly supplies had been drawn up, without the necessity of the monks emerging from their retreat. We left Dâr er-Riyâshî at 3.00 p. m., returning to camp at 1.00 a. m. the next morning.

July 12. The modern Arabic village of Faqû'ah (128) was carefully examined. Only a few Byzantine architectural stones were found there, imbedded in the walls of the modern houses. A short distance away is Rujm el-'Abd, a small tumulus, where in 1851 De Saulcy found the remarkable stele of a warrior portrayed in pseudo-Hittite style.⁵⁰ Several kilometres south of Faqû'ah lies Mrâ' (129), a small Arabic village. Several ornamented lintels found there, built into the walls of the houses, are probably mediaeval Arabic in origin. One piece of sigillata ware was found, but otherwise the pottery was mediaeval Arabic.

The machines were left at a point two kilometres west of Mrâ'. From there we proceeded on foot, at 10.35 a. m., and headed towards er-Râs (130), which is about five kilometres northwest of Mrâ' on a straight line. It is at a point almost directly south of Rujm el-Manârah, the two places being in sight of each other. We arrived at er-Râs at 12.15 p. m., having first followed a steeply descending, tortuous footpath leading down from the edge of the plateau and then ascending a long ridge, which terminates in a high spur at its northwestern end. On the top of this spur are the ruins of er-Râs, which form a

⁵⁰ Dussaud, *Les monuments palestiniens et judaïques*, pp. 1-4; *Bulletin*, No. 14, p. 9.

visible landmark for many miles. The summit of the spur is flat, being somewhat similar in shape to the citadel hill at 'Ammân. It widens out towards the northern end, where there are a small number of ruined buildings made of roughly dressed basalt blocks. The foundations of three buildings are still more or less intact. Most of these buildings probably belong to the mediaeval Arabic period, to judge from the quantities of mediaeval Arabic sherds found, and are probably built over earlier Nabataean structures. Quantities of typical Nabataean sherds were found. On the north and east sides there are remnants of a strong outer wall enclosing the site. The northern and western slopes of the spur, immediately below the outer wall enclosing the site, show definite traces of terracing. Near the south end of the enclosure is a large cemented cistern, roofed over with basalt beams. The water entered the cistern through a cemented settling basin. Lying beside the cistern was a section of a stone conduit; the other sections have disappeared. It probably led from the slightly higher northern end of the enclosure and conveyed the rain-water to the cistern. Er-Râs commands a splendid view of the southern half of the Dead Sea. When Herod's wife, the daughter of Aretas, whom he was trying to divorce for the sake of Herodias, was permitted to go to Machaerus, which Herod had rebuilt, she succeeded in effecting her escape from that stronghold to one of the Nabataean sites south of the Arnon,⁵⁷ among which were er-Râs and Rujm el-Manârah.

About two kilometres south of er-Râs, on the top of a small hill, lies a large, rectangular enclosure known as 'Arşah Suleimân ibn Dâûd (131) (see plan of Tomb of Suleimân ibn Dâûd, Pl. 15). Outside of the northwestern corner of the enclosure, whose walls seem to show two different building periods, is a large olive tree. In the center of the enclosure is a long tomb. It is six metres long at the top, the length of the base being about seven metres and its width a metre and a half. The tomb is made of well-cut rectangular blocks of limestone, put together in the form of a coffin, with a headstone at either end. On the south side of the courtyard is a row of vaulted chambers, the central one having served at one time as a mosque. In the center of the south wall of this chamber is a *mihrâb*, with some fragments of painted Koran verses on the plastered wall to the right of it. There are some ruined chambers on the northern side of the courtyard, with a staircase leading to a second story. On the hillside opposite the large enclosure to the east is a small tomb built into the side of the hill. The Tomb of Suleimân ibn Dâûd was probably erected for some local notable or district governor in the mediaeval Arabic

⁵⁷ Josephus, *Antiquities*, XVIII, V, 1; Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 569.

period. The structure of the walls is similar to that of Qaṣr Kharāneh.⁵⁸ Musil suggests that the tomb belongs to the Mamlūk period.⁵⁹

July 13. Five kilometres southeast of Mrā' is the very large site of Mejdelein (132). It is covered with many ruined buildings constructed of basalt blocks. The entire site is covered with modern débris. Tracks lead through it to the spring in the *wādī* below it; intensive search revealed only a few sherds, mostly mediaeval Arabic. On the southeast slope towards the spring several pieces of plain and rouletted sigillata ware were found and a few painted Nabataean sherds. To the southeast, on the left bank of the *wādī*, is a small, rectangular tower, oriented north and south, with an entrance on the east side. It is made of large, roughly dressed limestone blocks. No sherds were found near this tower which could have been of assistance in dating it.

Three kilometres southeast of Mejdelein lies Kh. Tedūn (133), where there are two modern abandoned buildings, standing among several ruined buildings. A few Nabataean sherds and some mediaeval Arabic sherds were found there. Half a kilometre farther east we came to a site called Sejerah (?) (134). There are traces of the foundations of a large walled enclosure, with more distinct ones of a large church at the east end of it. The apse is recognizable from a few of its foundation stones, which are still in place. A line of column bases, oriented east and west, is visible to the left of the apse. A Corinthian capital was found inside the church area. The church may have been built over the site of an earlier Roman building.

From there we proceeded a few kilometres southeast to Qaṣr Rabbah (135), and then due south to er-Rabbah (136). Both of these sites have already been sufficiently described.⁶⁰ At er-Rabbah, generally associated with Rabbath-Moab, an extensive search was undertaken for Early Iron Age pottery. Not a sherd was found which could be identified as belonging to the Early Iron Age or earlier. A very large quantity of Nabataean sherds of all kinds was found, and one Hellenistic sherd. There were numerous Roman sherds, and also a large number of mediaeval Arabic sherds.

Three kilometres east-northeast of er-Rabbah lies el-Miṣna' (137) (see plan of el-Miṣna', Pl. 16). It is a few metres removed from the Roman road, which passes it to the west, and is situated about halfway between Bālū'ah and Ader. It is a low mound, aligned east and west. The flat top of the mound, which measures eighty by fifty metres, is covered with fragments of basalt masonry. On the northern side of the mound are several walled compounds. Numerous sherds were found all around the site, but particularly

⁵⁸ AJA XXXVII, p. 382, and pl. XXXIX, fig. 2.

⁵⁹ M, pp. 90-1.

⁶⁰ PA I, pp. 46-52, 54-9; M, pp. 370-5.

on the north side of the mound we found a large number of sherds belonging to the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. The Bronze Age sherds extend from the end of Early Bronze to Middle Bronze I, from about 2200 to about 1800 B. C. The Iron Age sherds extend from the beginning of Early Iron I down to about the middle of Early Iron II, that is, from after the middle of the thirteenth century to about the ninth, possibly the eighth century B. C. There were several elaborately profiled rims at el-Miṣna', which seem to belong to Middle Bronze II, being similar to those found in the E-D levels at Tell Beit Mirsim. A few Nabataean sherds were also found. This site, like all of the other sites mentioned, shows a blank between the eighteenth and the middle of the thirteenth centuries B. C., and between approximately the eighth and the third centuries B. C. The few MB II sherds at Miṣna', when compared to the numerous EB and MB I sherds, can hardly be taken to indicate a settlement there at some time between the eighteenth and sixteenth centuries B. C. One black glazed Hellenistic sherd was also found. A small pottery object was found, resembling a claw. To judge from its texture, it belongs to the Early Iron Age (Fig. 15 a).

From el-Miṣna' we drove east-northeast to Ḥamūd (138), a small inhabited site, and then to the Christian village of es-Smakīyeh (139), where a few Nabataean sherds were found. From there we drove past a small, indistinguishable ruined site, called Jedeideh (140), to el-Medeiyineh^{60a} (141), overlooking the Wādī el-Môjib.

July 14. From el-Medeiyineh we drove to Kh. Hejfeh (142), which lies about eight kilometres to the southwest. It is a small early Arabic site. Three kilometres west-southwest lies the Christian village of Ader⁶¹ (143). In addition to the Bronze Age sherds found at Ader, there were also found, particularly in the village, numerous Nabataean, Roman, Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds. Four well preserved sections of a frieze were seen. They were ornamented with metopes and triglyphs and probably belong to the first century A. D.⁶² (Fig. 24). To the east-southeast of Ader, approximately between Ader and Lejjûn, is a small, ruined watch-tower, called el-Beteimeh (149). No sherds were found to date it.

From Ader we proceeded south-southeast to Qeseir eṭ-Ṭamrah (144), a small ruined site about seven kilometres from Ader in a straight line. A few painted Nabataean sherds were found and also several Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds. Two kilometres southwest of it lies Kh. el-Moreighah (145), a large ruined city surrounded by a strong wall, which is still largely intact.

^{60a} See above, pp. 22 ff.

⁶¹ See above, pp. 45 f.

⁶² PA I, p. 155, fig. 171; p. 164, fig. 190; p. 177, fig. 200; RB, 1910, p. 113, pl. II.

The main entrance on the north side is flanked by two rectangular towers. The west wall is flanked by an intermittent series of towers, as may have been the case originally with the east wall. The original plan of the site, which was probably that of a complete rectangle, has been considerably disturbed

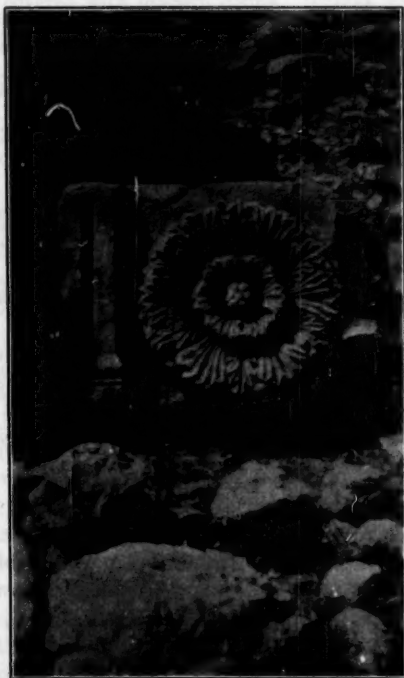


Fig. 24. Section of frieze from Ader, from first century A. D., photographed upside down.

by later additions, particularly at the south end of the site (see plan of el-Moreighah, Pl. 17). A street leads through the main entrance, on either side of which are the ruins of a large number of houses, many of which have vaulted roofs. There are a large number of cisterns inside and outside of the city walls. The walls, with intermittent towers, built of large, roughly dressed, rectangular, limestone blocks, are similar to the walls of Nakhl and Umm er-Rasâs. The origin of the site, however, seems certainly to be Nabataean,

to judge from the large numbers of Nabataean sherds of all types which were found. There were also large numbers of Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds, which come from the periods when the walls were rebuilt and added to and the size of the city enlarged. Even in the Nabataean period el-Moreighah was a large and thriving city. It was an important station along the busy Nabataean trade route which led northward from Petra to Damascus and westward from Petra to Gaza, and was also located in the midst of a thriving Nabataean district.

El-Kerak, to the west-northwest, which is visible from el-Moreighah, was also occupied during the Nabataean period. We have already seen that it was occupied during the Early Iron Age. When we examined the castle there, we were surprised to find Nabataean sherds lying about inside. A small Nabataean site, either on the el-Kerak hill or immediately near it, had evidently been demolished to supply building material for the castle. With the debris from this Nabataean site, which had been brought in to serve perhaps as a fill, there had been brought in a number of Nabataean sherds imbedded in it.

To the southeast of el-Moreighah lies the Nabataean site of Ekhwein el-Khâdem, and directly south of it the Nabataean sites of el-Batrah, Nakhel, and Medeibî. To the northeast and northwest of el-Moreighah, Nabataean settlements existed at Lejjûn and Ader. We by no means exhausted the large number of ruins in the immediate vicinity of el-Moreighah. A fair proportion of them, to judge from our general experience with the various sites examined, must have been occupied by Nabataean settlements. El-Moreighah was then one of the large Nabataean trading centers, as was Nakhel to the south of it. It was partly supported by a considerable number of Nabataean villages round about it, but it thrived on the extensive trade of the Nabataean kingdom in its heyday, and on the constant caravan traffic passing along the trade route on which it was situated.

Three kilometres south-southeast of el-Moreighah lies Kh. el-Batrah (146), on the east side of the Wâdî el-Batrah. Kh. el-Batrah is a typical ruined Nabataean village, consisting of a number of ruined houses with vaulted chambers. There are many cisterns and a number of small low mounds. The village is built on the sides and top of a high hill. Large quantities of purely Nabataean sherds were found. Three kilometres west-northwest of Kh. el-Batrah lies Kh. en-Nesheinish (148), a small Nabataean site with a complex of ruined houses, foundation walls, and a few large cisterns. The sherds found there were almost all Nabataean, but there were a number of early Arabic sherds also.

Seven kilometres south-southeast of Kh. el-Batrah lies the great ruin of

Nakhl (147). It is situated on a large natural mound and commands an extensive view to the south and the southeast. Inside and outside of the site are numerous cisterns. The walls of the city, which are most nearly intact on the western and southern sides, are similar to the walls of el-Moreighah and of Umm er-Raṣāṣ. Intermittent towers, or buttresses, built of large, roughly dressed, rectangular limestone blocks, flank the walls. To judge from the large quantities of Nabataean sherds of all kinds found all over the site, the origin of Nakhl was Nabataean. Numerous pieces of sigillata ware were found, similar to those found on other sites with Nabataean sherds. Nakhl was also one of the large Nabataean trading centers on the great Nabataean trade route, which led southward to Petra by another great Nabataean site, eth-Thuwāneh, which is south of the Wādī el-Ḥesā. The site of Nakhl⁵³ was extensively built on, certainly from Nabataean-Roman times on. It would require extensive excavations to disentangle the various building periods. In addition to the Nabataean and numerous Roman sherds, large quantities of Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found. At the northeastern end of the site is a large building made of excellently cut limestone blocks, similar in the style of its construction to the temple at Qaṣr Rabbah. Inside of this building, which is probably of Nabataean or perhaps Roman origin, a church was built. The apse of the church, facing due east, is clearly visible. On the western side of this building is a large dump-heap, containing Nabataean and mediaeval Arabic sherds.

May 23. Seven kilometres south-southeast of Nakhl lies Meḍeibī (45) (see plan of Meḍeibī, Pl. 11), about ten kilometres north of the Wādī el-Ḥesā in a straight line. It is a large, square, walled enclosure on the top of a small knoll (Fig. 25). The walls were made of roughly dressed basalt blocks, taken from the adjacent hill-sides. They seem to belong to the Early Iron Age and are similar in construction to the walls of fortress I at Za'ferān and to the original walls of Qaṣr Bālū'ah. There are two entrances, one each on the eastern and western sides, flanked by two rectangular towers. The gates were constructed of huge limestone blocks. Several large limestone blocks lie outside of the eastern gate, and others are still in position there and also in the western gate. Four square corner towers, a rectangular tower in the center of the north wall, and another in the center of the south wall make up the complete fortification. The towers are constructed with alternating headers and stretchers, as are the intact corners of Qaṣr Bālū'ah⁵⁴ and the Israelite walls at Samaria and Megiddo. Parts of the walls were evidently rebuilt

⁵³ M, p. 324.

⁵⁴ See above, p. 54; cf. JDAI 48, p. 102, fig. 10, for construction of wall at Samaria.

after having been breached. Thus definite parts of the west wall, for instance, were rebuilt, probably also in the Iron Age, with large, undressed basalt blocks. The spaces between them were filled with smaller stones. The square or rectangular fortress, sometimes strengthened with towers, seems to be a fairly common type in Moab in the Early Iron Age, as is evidenced also by the Early Iron Age fortresses at el-Medeiyneh by the Wādī eth-Themed, Qaṣr Za'ferān I, 'Arâ'ir, Qaṣr Bālū'ah, and Miṣna'. Similar to the general rectangular and

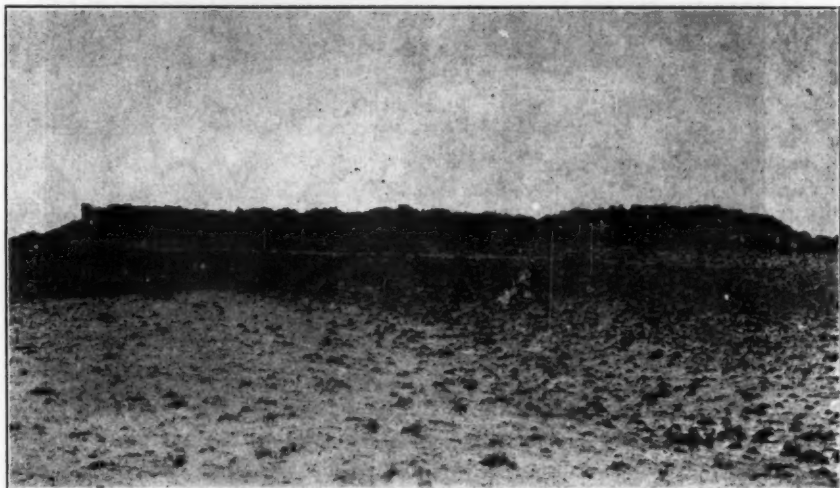


Fig. 25. Meḏeibī', looking north (photographed by George Horsfield).

square type of Moabite fortress with towers is the rectangular citadel with four corner towers at Tell el-Fûl, excavated by Albright.⁵⁵ A close parallel, as he points out, is a fortress at 'Ain el-Qudeirât (Kadesh-barnea), which perhaps dates from the tenth century B. C.⁵⁶ The rectangular type of fortress strengthened by towers was known in Moab in the Early Bronze and Middle Bronze I periods, as is evidenced by the fortress at Lejjûn.

The relationship of the Iron Age fortresses in Moab with those in Palestine is further attested by a large, proto-Ionic pilaster capital, made of a large

⁵⁵ *Bulletin*, No. 52, p. 7, fig. 1.

⁵⁶ *Bulletin*, No. 52, p. 8; PEFA III, p. 65; Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, pp. 417-19; see now *Bulletin*, No. 53, pp. 19-20.

limestone block, which we found inside the eastern entrance at Meḏeibī'.⁶⁷ It measures 1.90 by .87 by .50 metres (Fig. 26). The proto-Ionic type of decoration with volutes and triangle is similar to that of the capitals found by Schumacher⁶⁸ and by Fisher⁶⁹ at Megiddo, and to those of the capitals found by Crowfoot and Sukenik at Samaria,⁷⁰ and by Maisler at Ramat Rahel.⁷¹ Those found by Maisler differ considerably from the others. There is also a striking resemblance to the decoration on the back of the lion censer



Fig. 26. Proto-Ionic pilaster capital from Meḏeibī'.

found by Albright at Tell Beit Mirsim.⁷² The entire site was peculiarly destitute of sherds, which might otherwise have been of assistance in determining the date of the Early Iron Age citadel and of the proto-Ionic pilaster capital which belonged to it. While no later than the eighth century B. C., the proto-Ionic pilaster capital may well belong to an earlier part of the Iron Age.⁷³ Beyond the southwest corner of the fortress is a large, cemented cave-

⁶⁷ *Bulletin*, No. 51, p. 13; cf. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, pp. 20, 49; he uses a drawing at the end of ch. 2, which seems to have been copied from the Meḏeibī' stone.

⁶⁸ Schumacher, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, I, 1908, p. 118; Watzinger, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, II 1929, p. 78.

⁶⁹ Fisher, *Oriental Institute Communications* 4, p. 71.

⁷⁰ *JDAI* 48, p. 96, fig. 6, 7; p. 150.

⁷¹ Maisler, *רמיה רחל וחורבה צלה*, pp. 14-5; cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Phoenicia*, I, fig. 51, 52, 152.

⁷² *Bulletin*, No. 47, p. 16; 48, p. 1.

⁷³ *Bulletin*, No. 51, p. 13.

cistern, near the mouth of which lies a large limestone pillar which probably belongs to the western gate of the Iron Age fortress.

Inside of the walls of the Iron Age fortress is a smaller enclosure, which is probably Nabataean. It is built of smaller stones than the outer enclosure. A few Nabataean sherds were found. In Nabataean times Meḏeibî' was one of the important outposts guarding the trade route which led from Petra to Nakhl, to el-Moreighah, and northward to Damascus. Immediately to the east of Meḏeibî' is a line of Nabataean watch-towers, forming part of the Nabataean defensive system in the district immediately north of the Wādī el-Ḥesā, and related to the focal defensive point at Meḏeibî'.⁷⁴ There are traces of a dam crossing the small *wādī* on the northern side of the fortress.

May 21. Two kilometres northwest of Qal'at el-Ḥesā⁷⁵ (34) is er-Ruweiḥah⁷⁶ (35), a large walled Nabataean fortress, situated on top of a hill overlooking the point where the Wādī el-Ḥesā and the Wādī er-Ruweiḥah meet. The site was called Rās el-Wād by some passing Bedouin, who, however, did not belong to the district. Half-way up the slope of the hill from the Wādī el-Ḥesā is a ruined tower. At the very summit of the hill is another ruined tower, forming part of the defences of the fortress. Large quantities of typical Nabataean sherds were found on the site and on the slope of the hill leading up to it from the *wādī*.

Returning to the Ḥājj road on the north side of the Wādī el-Ḥesā, we ascended the slopes to the top of the broken plateau. At a point approximately opposite Qal'at el-Ḥesā we came to a small ruined tower (36), but no sherds were found near it. To the north-northeast, about seven kilometres away on a straight line, lies Qaṣr Shōkhar⁷⁷ (37), a ruined Nabataean watch-tower commanding an extensive view in all directions. Nabataean pottery was found around it. Twenty kilometres north-northwest we passed another small Nabataean watch-tower (38). On the way we passed several watch-towers at which we did not stop, and others were visible in the vicinity. About six kilometres north-northeast in a straight line lies Ekhwein el-Khâdem⁷⁸ (39), with Bîr en-Nâyem (40) adjacent to it. Two kilometres to the northeast of Bîr Nâyem is a small ruined site with a large cistern called Bîr Bashbash⁷⁹ (41), where some Nabataean sherds were found. A kilometre north-northeast of it we came to another small ruined watch-tower (42). A kilometre to the east of it lies Qaṣr No'mân (43), a large watch-tower, probably Nabataean. The type of construction of the walls of Qaṣr No'mân is the same as that of other indubitably Nabataean towers. It is 5.40 metres square. The walls,

⁷⁴ M, p. 81.

⁷⁵ PA II, pp. 16-9.

⁷⁶ PA II, p. 20.

⁷⁷ PA II, pp. 21-2.

⁷⁸ See above, pp. 42 ff.

⁷⁹ M, p. 368.

which are constructed of rectangular, roughly dressed basalt blocks, are preserved to a height of ten and eleven courses on various sides (Fig. 27). The height of the wall at the northeast corner is 3.70 metres. In the north side is a door a metre wide, and 1.20 metres high (see plan of Qaṣr No'mân, Pl. 18). It gives access to a passage of the same dimensions, running north and



Fig. 27. Qaṣr No'mân.

south the length of the interior. Over this passage is a ceiling of stone beams. The second last beam at the south end of the ceiling is missing. It seems that access to the interior of the tower was gained through the passage, and then through the space in the ceiling above it, which was blocked up after entrance had been effected. Probably the entrance to the passage proper was blocked up from the inside, after the occupants of the tower had entered. It is uncertain whether or not the walls on either side of the passage way are

solid, because the inside of the tower was filled with débris. The outside walls of the tower were carefully examined, and there is no other possible entrance than the one described through the door in the north wall. Qaşr Abū Rukbeh is visible to the northeast of Qaşr No'mân. Nabataean sherds were found around Qaşr No'mân, which established the date of the tower with certainty.

May 23. Two kilometres northeast of Qaşr No'mân lies Qaşr Abū Rukbeh (44), of which an excellent plan has already been published.⁴⁰ It is the largest of the towers which we visited and is approximately square, measuring 10.90 and 10.85 metres respectively on its north and south sides, and 10.50 and 10.25 metres respectively on its east and west sides (Fig. 28). It is



Fig. 28. Qaşr Abū Rukbeh (photographed by George Horsfield).

oriented northeast by southwest. A number of worn Nabataean sherds were found outside of the tower. The walls of the tower, unlike those of the other Nabataean towers, were not built dry, but were laid in mortar and covered with plaster. There is a large entrance in the northwest wall, with the remains of a staircase on the inside leading to a second story. There are embrasures in the southeastern and southwestern walls, through the latter of which it is possible to see Qaşr No'mân directly to the southwest.

⁴⁰ PA II, p. 43.

A kilometre east-southeast of Lejjûn is a small ruined watch-tower called Rujm Lejjûn (48), which seems to have been a part of the system of watch-towers guarding the eastern face of the Nabataean kingdom. Both Nabataean and Roman sherds were found beside it, indicating that the originally Nabataean tower had been taken over by the Romans. Four kilometres southeast of Rujm Lejjûn we came upon a small ruined tower on the right side of the Qatrâneh road. One Nabataean painted sherd was found there. Some modern graves are to be seen, built over the ruins of the tower.

There is then a long line of Nabataean watch-towers between the Wâdi el-Môjib and the Wâdi el-Hesâ, guarding the eastern side of the Nabataean kingdom in this district. These towers are situated within signaling distance of each other, and we shall not be surprised to find them extending all the way down to the Red Sea. The line of watch-towers which we examined does not, however, represent the easternmost Nabataean settlements and police-stations.

We found that Qaşr Meshîsh (8), which we visited on May 17, was originally a Nabataean site. It is about twenty-three kilometres east-southeast of Qaşr Shôkhar and about sixteen kilometres east of Qreiqreh on the Hejâz railway. Large numbers of typical Nabataean sherds were found by the ruined *qaşr*. The *qaşr* is oriented northwest by southeast and is rectangular, measuring approximately 26 by 30 metres (see plan of Qaşr el-Meshîsh, Pl. 19). The foundation walls are still clearly to be traced. Inside the *qaşr* are the foundations of rows of chambers built against the southwest, northwest, and northeast walls. In the center of the southeast wall was an entrance. Musil, in his plan, has placed the entrance in the south corner of the southeast wall.⁸¹ The most intact part of the wall, on either side of the entrance, consists of roughly squared limestone blocks. In front of the entrance are some rude modern graves. About 200 metres south-southwest of Qaşr Meshîsh is a tower, about nine metres square. Its walls, built of well-dressed limestone blocks, stand from two to seven courses high. No pottery was found beside it. Its construction is entirely different in type from that of Qaşr Meshîsh. Several corbels extend from the western wall of the building, which may be Ghassanian in origin. About sixty metres southeast of Qaşr Meshîsh are three large cisterns. Qaşr Meshîsh was probably a caravanserai, used by Nabataean caravans coming west from the north-south caravan route farther to the east, on which Bâyr Wells is situated. In the eighth century A. D. a number of Omayyad castles and caravanserais were built along this route. We followed its path from Azraq to Bâyr Wells and continued along it as far south as Kilwa in the Jebel Tûbaiq.⁸²

⁸¹ M, p. 313.

⁸² AJA XXXVII, pp. 381-6.

At Bâ'ir Wells we found traces of a Nabataean station which represents the easternmost outpost of the Nabataean kingdom thus far discovered. Bâ'ir Wells⁸³ is situated about fifty-two kilometres southeast of Qaşr Meshîsh. We arrived there on December 6, 1932, having driven 86.9 kilometres south-southeast from Qaşr eṭ-Ṭûbah. It is situated by the Wâdî Bâ'ir, where the Field expedition had found some Chellean flints.⁸⁴ Several years ago the Arab Legion constructed a modern fort at Bâ'ir Wells. Below the fort are the two main wells, from which the site derives its name. Surrounding the well nearest the fort were the ruins of a building called Qaşr Bâ'ir. Mr. Horsfield reconstructed the plan from what remained of the core of the walls (see plan of Qaşr Bâ'ir, Pl. 19). The *qaşr* was a rectangular building, measuring approximately 78 by 55 metres, with an inner court surrounded by chambers. There was a circular tower at each corner of the *qaşr* and a semi-circular tower in the center of each wall, except the eastern one. Two semi-circular towers flanked the entrance in the center of the east wall. The *qaşr* was clearly a caravanserai, and to judge from the stones still lying about was well built. In the northern corner of the *qaşr* is a deep well, which is being used today. Gertrude Bell reports visiting the *qaşr* at Bâ'ir Wells; she writes, "The plan is a very old type and the place may be eighth century".⁸⁵ A photograph of the castle at Bâ'ir Wells was published by Miss Bell in her article, "Journey to Hayil", in the *Geographical Journal*, July 1927. Unfortunately I have not been able to procure this particular number at the time of writing.

Looking carefully over the terrain surrounding the *qaşr* we found large numbers of Nabataean sherds⁸⁶ like those discovered and identified for the first time by Mr. George Horsfield and Mrs. Horsfield (Agnes Conway) at Petra.⁸⁷ Further proof that there had been a Nabataean settlement at Bâ'ir Wells was furnished when we found a large number of Nabataean sherds on the surface of a small mound east of the wells. A few small soundings were made on the western slope of the mound, which faced the wells. Very close to the surface were large numbers of Nabataean sherds. No complete vessels were recovered. Whether or not the *qaşr* had been built over a Nabataean structure, which would explain the presence of the Nabataean sherds around

⁸³ See map, AJA XXXVII, p. 382.

⁸⁴ *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 35: 1, p. 52.

⁸⁵ Gertrude Bell, *Letters*, p. 269; for reference to Bâ'ir Wells in Moslem literature cf. Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, p. 324, n. 76; M, p. 188.

⁸⁶ *Bulletin*, No. 50, pp. 8, 9.

⁸⁷ Horsfield and Conway, "Historical and Topographical Notes on Edom," *The Geographical Journal*, LXXVI, 1930, pp. 375, 386.

it, we were unable to determine. It may be that these sherds came from the small mound whose surfaces were strewn with Nabataean sherds. On the southeastern side of the mound are several modern graves, near an almost completely filled cave. Bâyr Wells was on that part of the Nabataean trade route which led from Leucecome,⁸⁸ a Nabataean port on the Red Sea, to 'Ammân and Damascus, via Medâ'in Şâleḥ and Teimâ. Arabic sources mention a transport road which led from Boṣrâ and 'Ammân to Teimâ via Bâyr Wells.⁸⁹

The plain, painted, and rouletted Nabataean sherds found at Bâyr Wells are exactly like those found at the numerous Nabataean sites which we discovered in Moab and Edom, and which have been discovered in the Negeb.⁹⁰ Made of finely levigated clay, which ranged in the color of its texture from reddish brown to red, the Nabataean sherds from Bâyr Wells and from the numerous other Nabataean sites discovered formed parts of almost unbelievably fine, thin, fragile cups, saucers, shallow dishes, jugs and bowls of various sizes and of the most delicate workmanship. Rims and bases of various types of Nabataean sherds from Bâyr Wells are illustrated on Pl. 21. Some of the forms resemble the unpublished faience pots from Nippur in the University of Pennsylvania Museum and in fabric are as fine as the thin, yellow, unglazed Achaemenian pottery found at Nippur and at Ur.⁹¹ The painted designs on this Nabataean pottery seem to have no traceable affinities with any other ware. They usually consist of stylized floral or leaf patterns in solid, reddish brown color. These patterns are superimposed over very delicate parallel, or sometimes criss-cross lines, which may be a stylized representation of the veining of leaves. The palm-leaf design is a common one. Clusters of small circles and dots of solid color are often found in connection with the leaf design. Some of the leaf designs are very naturalistic.⁹² One type of Nabataean sherds of somewhat heavier ware is decorated with horizontal, irregularly spaced bands and lines of dark brown paint.⁹³ On other sherds there are intricate rope or vine designs. Nabataean painted sherds are illustrated on Pl. 25. Pl. 25 a shows sherds from Petra. The sherds on Pl. 25 b are from various sites throughout Moab and northern Edom.⁹⁴ A few sherds of fine ribbed ware and also a number of fine sherds with bands

⁸⁸ Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, pp. 27, 65.

⁸⁹ Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, p. 324, n. 76.

⁹⁰ QDAP III: 3, pp. 132-6.

⁹¹ *The Geographical Journal*, LXXVI, p. 386.

⁹² *The Geographical Journal*, LXXVI, p. 375, fig. 13.

⁹³ QDAP III, p. 134; *Bulletin*, No. 55, p. 15.

⁹⁴ See plate of painted Nabataean sherds from Bâyr Wells in *Bulletin*, No. 50, p. 8.

of rouletting, found at Bâyr Wells, are illustrated on Pl. 26 a. Some of the bands of rouletting are so fine as to be barely perceptible. Sometimes they fit into each other like rows of diminutive cog-wheels. The tool employed to make the rouletted bands was a revolving toothed wheel. Other sherds were ornamented with very narrow, or sometimes comparatively broad grooves. The plain types of fine Nabataean sherds have carefully wet-smoothed and highly polished outer surfaces, and occasionally there is a very fine, highly polished slip on the outer surface. The painted designs seem almost always to be placed on the inner surface of cups and saucers and bowls. The bands of rouletting are invariably on the outer surface.

Considerable numbers of fine, rouletted, Nabataean sherds were found at numerous sites throughout Moab and northern Edom. Thus, for instance, Pl. 27 has the following provenances for the rouletted sherds photographed: 1 = et-Teim; 2. 4. 11. 12. 13. 13a. 29 = Qaṣr Meshîsh; 3. 5 = Er-Ruweihah; 8. 10. 14. 16. 20. 27 = eth-Thuwânêh; 9. 21 = Zobâyer Qaştal; 7 = Sâliyah; 6 = Rujm Lejjân; 17 = Kh. el-Bîr; 15. 22 = Siker; 19 = el-'Alimeh; 18 = Umm el-Walid; 24 = Jemeil; 25. 28 = Za'ferân; 26 = Ḥesbân; 30 = Qeṣeir Dubai'ah. It is important to note that in texture, color, fineness of ware, polish, and form, there is no difference between the rouletted sherds and the plain and painted Nabataean sherds. They were all made at the same kilns during the same periods and are of local manufacture. A number of Nabataean vessels are rouletted above and below the ring-bases. These bases are otherwise no different from the plain ware. See Pl. 27 : 8.

In almost all of the Nabataean sites visited, in addition to the types of Nabataean pottery described above, fragments of sigillata ware were found,⁵⁵ well-made of finely levigated, creamy coloured clay, covered with a highly polished red glaze over the outer surfaces. Other pieces were made of finely levigated reddish clay with highly polished outer surfaces. The sigillata sherds on Pl. 26 b are from 'Arâ'ir, er-Râmeh, Ḥesbân, Libb, es-Siker, el-Medeyineh in the Wâdî Sâliyah, el-Leḥûn, Sâliyah, el-Medeyineh in the Wâdî Sâliyah, Zeinab, es-Siker, Kh. Zeweizâ, and Zeinab, respectively, omitting No. 2, which does not belong in the picture. We also found a considerable number of pieces of rouletted sigillata ware, together with the plain sigillata ware. They occurred in a large proportion of the sites where we found the above mentioned types of Nabataean pottery. The rouletted sigillata differed in no wise from the plain sigillata. The rouletting on the sigillata ware is exactly the same as the rouletting on the fragile Nabataean ware. Pl. 28 gives specimens of plain and rouletted sigillata ware, which were found, following the ascending order of the numbered sherds, at es-Siker,

⁵⁵ Cf. QDAP III, p. 134.

Qeṣeir Ḍubai'ah, Sāliyah, es-Siker, Jemeil, Zeinab, Jemeil, Libb, Musheirfeh, es-Siker, Za'ferān II, Za'ferān I, er-Rāmeḥ, Umm el-Walid, Buṣeirah, Ḥesbān, Za'ferān I, Umm el-Walid, eth-Thuwāneh, Qeṣeir Ḍubai'ah, Jemeil, Qeṣeir Ḍubai'ah, Ruweiḥah, Zeinab, Ruweiḥah, es-Siker, Umm el-Walid, es-Siker, Libb. Fragments of this ware were found at numerous other Nabataean sites. This sigillata ware is later than the black glazed Greek ware, which had almost completely given way to the red glazed ware by the beginning of the second century B. C.,⁹⁸ and is earlier than the rouletted ware of Europe of the second and third centuries A. D. Two general types of sigillata ware were found on the Nabataean sites, the one with a creamy core, and the other with a reddish core. The sigillata ware with the creamy core is definitely related to the sigillata ware from Asia Minor, whence indeed much of it may have been imported. However, some of this type of sigillata may also have been locally manufactured by the highly skilled Nabataean potters, who produced the wafer-like Nabataean ware, which likewise required a finely levigated clay. The type of sigillata with the reddish core seems to be wholly Nabataean in origin. The rouletting so frequently found on Nabataean pottery was probably copied originally from rouletting on imported sigillata. Excavations and finds of stamped sigillata ware will be necessary to determine the exact relationship between imported and locally manufactured sigillata, and their relationship to the fine Nabataean ware. We would assign the same date to both types of pottery, that is, to the period between the second century B. C. and the first century A. D.

South of the Wādī el-Ḥesā we examined a considerable number of sites, particularly between esh-Shōbek and eṭ-Ṭaffileh. On May 17 we arrived at the large Roman site of Da'jānīyah⁹⁷ (9). From there we drove to 'Ain Nejel⁹⁸ (11), which is five kilometres west-southwest of ed-Dōshak⁹⁹ (10).

May 18. 'Ain Nejel is a fine spring, which was deepened and widened, probably in Roman times, and enclosed then in a walled basin. The hillside immediately above the spring is covered with extensive ruins, of which only the barest foundations remain. The site has been identified with Negla.¹⁰⁰ Numerous pieces of Nabataean ware were found, in addition to numerous Roman and mediaeval Arabic sherds.

About fourteen kilometres north of esh-Shōbek, on the left side of the new dirt road which goes to eṭ-Ṭaffileh, we came to Kh. el-Bīr (16), having passed several unmarked Roman milestones on the way (12-14) and a small ruined

⁹⁷ QDAP III, p. 134.

⁹⁸ PA II, pp. 8-13.

⁹⁹ PA I, pp. 98, 100.

¹⁰⁰ PA I, pp. 98-9.

¹⁰¹ PA I, p. 98; RB, 1898, p. 440.

site with extensive terraces (15). Kh. el-Bir is high up on the left side of the road and consists mostly of ruined walls of various buildings. At the southeast corner are the walls of a building, four or five courses high, made of well dressed, draughted blocks of limestone. Numerous Nabataean sherds were found and a number of mediaeval Arabic sherds.

May 19. Several kilometres north of Kh. el-Bir was a small ruined site, high up on the left side of the road, commanding a splendid view of the 'Arabah (17). Two kilometres farther northwest we came to Kh. el-'Alimeh (18), at the top of the hill on the left side of the road, overlooking the 'Arabah. Immediately below it, at the foot of a precipitous slope, is the modern village of Dānā. Kh. el-'Alimeh is a mass of ruins, representing a small acropolis which was probably erected in the Nabataean period. Large numbers of Nabataean sherds of all kinds were found; there was also a considerable amount of sigillata ware. At a point about three kilometres to the northwest on the same road we turned to the left and followed the track which leads down to Dānā. A kilometre from the main road we came to a small ruined site, with traces of foundation walls, called Imtāt (19), where some Nabataean sherds were found, including a considerable amount of coarse ware similar to the coarse sherds we found on the top of Umm el-Biyārah in Petra.¹ In March, 1933, Mrs. George Horsfield, Mr. R. G. Head, and the writer undertook some soundings on the top of Umm el-Biyārah. Numerous sherds were found belonging to large vessels of various kinds. The sherds of this type which were found also at er-Ruweiḥah (35), eth-Thuwāneh (33), and Buṣairah (26), did not lend themselves to immediate classification. As a result of the archaeological survey of Edom during March-July 1934, when a large number of Edomite sites was discovered and the character of Edomite pottery determined, it became possible to identify these sherds as Edomite, belonging to the Early Iron Age. Umm el-Biyārah is therefore to be identified with the biblical Sela'.²

From Imtāt we descended by a steep track to the Arab village of Dānā (20), arriving there after a forty-five minute walk. It is situated at the head of the Wādī Dānā, through which a track leads down to Feinān. The copper-slag

¹ *Bulletin*, No. 51, pp. 13-4; PA II, p. 329; *The Geographical Journal*, LXXVI, p. 374, fig. 5.

² *Bulletin*, No. 55, pp. 3-21; Judges 1, 36; II Kings 14, 7; II Chron. 25, 12. Horsfield and Conway, *The Geographical Journal*, LXXVI, p. 374, and Phythian-Adams, *The Call of Israel*, pp. 191-2, and Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible*, p. 19, have been the latest to suggest the identification of Petra and Sela'. Phythian-Adams suggested the equation of Umm el-Biyārah and Sela' — which suggestion is now archaeologically substantiated.

heaps at Feinân^{1b} are visible through field glasses from the top of the hill above Dānā. A beautiful spring emerges from the side of the hill immediately above the village. Careful search of the surroundings of the village resulted in finding a few mediaeval Arabic sherds.

Returning to the main road, we came to the extensive ruined site of Rushdiyyeh (21), where numerous Nabataean and Byzantine sherds were found. In the northwest corner of the site are the deserted and crumbling buildings of a Turkoman settlement. At the part of the site immediately next to the road are the foundation ruins of a large building, oriented north-west and southeast. A number of column bases are visible in the interior of the building. Some of them still support the lower part of large columns, which have a wavy moulding in relief on them.

Two kilometres to the north lies Kh. Gharandel (22), a small, featureless ruined site, where several Nabataean and early Arabic sherds were picked up. Proceeding northward, we stopped at Kh. Umm Zeitūneh (23), another small, featureless site with a few Nabataean and mediaeval Arabic sherds. Three kilometres to the north of this site we came to Kh. el-Jenīn² (24, 25), a large maze of ruins above 'Ain el-Jenīn. Here we found a small number of Nabataean sherds and a few Roman and mediaeval Arabic sherds.

May 20. Returning to 'Ain Gharandel, we walked to Buṣeirah³ (26). South of the modern village is a small mound with a number of ruined buildings on top of it. At the eastern end of the mound are the ruins of a church, oriented due east and west and measuring 13 by 6 metres. There is a ruined apse at its east end. Inside the walls of the building are four half-columns. A large number of Nabataean sherds were found on the sides and top of this mound, as well as a number of Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds. Both this small mound and the modern village north of it are on a high, flat-topped spur, which is bordered on the south and west by the deep Wādī Qarqūr, and on the north and east by the still deeper Seil Rf'. The slopes of the spur on these sides descend precipitously to the *wādīs* below. The spur is connected to the headland only by a ridge on its southeastern side. The small mound at the south of the village protected this southeastern point, where alone an attack on the site was possible (Fig. 29). North of the modern village is a large walled enclosure, surrounded on all sides except the southern by ancient terraces. The enclosure is oriented east-west and measures about 65 by 110 metres. The entire top of the hill seems at one time to have been

^{1b} *Bulletin*, No. 55, pp. 8-9, 14-15.

² *ME*, II: 2, p. 241.

³ *ME* II: 1, pp. 318-22; *PA* I, pp. 110, 111.

enclosed by a strong wall. In the center of one of the terraced areas, immediately east of the walled enclosure, is a well-cut cistern, about five metres deep. There were a number of other blocked-up cisterns on the top of the hill. South of the enclosure there were three pillar bases. Southeast of the village, on the way down to the large spring called 'Ain el-'Ebr, is a section of a strongly built wall, some huge blocks of hewn stone, and the remains of a tower. In the area north of the village a large number of Nabataean sherds



Fig. 29. The spur on which Buseirah is situated (photographed by George Horsfield).

were found, including some of the above mentioned coarse ware. There were also numerous Byzantine and mediaeval Arabic sherds. The identification of Buseirah with the biblical Bozrah, from which the Edomites were expelled by the Nabataeans, is problematic.⁴

Four kilometres northwest of Kh. el-Jenîn lies Kh. es-Sa'weh (27), above which are two springs, one called 'Ain Ferdis and the other 'Ain es-Sa'weh. A considerable number of Nabataean sherds were found there. The site itself is small and is covered with featureless ruins. Two kilometres farther north we stopped at Kh. el-Beidâ (28), where we found a few Nabataean and Roman sherds and several Byzantine sherds. At the southeast corner of the small

⁴ Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, pp. 325, 579; Obadiah 1, 8, 9; Isaiah 63, 1; Amos 1, 12; see now *Bulletin*, No. 55, p. 14.

site was a ruined church, oriented east-west, with an apse at the east end. The building measured about 16 by 11 metres and was dry built of well dressed, massive, limestone blocks. Three kilometres to the north is another small, ruined site, Kh. el-Ḥanāneh (29), where a few Nabataean and mediaeval Arabic sherds were found. One comparatively well-preserved building is visible there. It is about ten metres square. The walls, preserved in places to a height of seven courses, are dry built of large, well cut, rectangular blocks of limestone. Two more small sites were passed going northward before we reached eṭ-Tafileh. At both of them (30, 31), Nabataean sherds were found. From eṭ-Tafileh⁵ we turned southeast, following the track leading to Jurf ed-Derāwish.

May 21. Thirteen kilometres east-southeast of eṭ-Tafileh on a straight line is a small ruined site called 'Abūr (32). It is a small, featureless ruined site, on which there is a single modern house. A few Nabataean sherds were found, and also a few mediaeval Arabic sherds. North of 'Abūr can be seen four watch-towers overlooking approaches to the Wādī el-Ḥesā.

Eight kilometres south of 'Abūr in a straight line is eth-Thuwāneh (33),⁶ an extensive ruined site, covering the side of the hill below the right side of the road and extending over the side and top of the hill opposite and of the small valley between the two hillsides. Large numbers of featureless ruined structures cover the area of the city. In the valley between the two hills are three huge cisterns, each about ten metres deep. Each of them is surrounded by a circle of stone watering troughs (Fig. 30). Near the top of the eastern hillside below the road, on a flat, terrace-like area, are the ruins of an impressive building made of well cut, draughted limestone blocks. On the west side the wall is preserved to a height of ten courses, measuring 4.20 metres. It is a large, three-room temple, with two large courtyards adjacent to it on the north. The three chambers run the entire length of the building. The east and middle chambers are entered through doorways in the north wall. The west chamber is entered through a doorway in the north end of the dividing wall between the middle and west chambers. There are traces of the foundations of buildings in the courtyards.⁷ Large numbers of Nabataean and Roman sherds were found, as well as numerous pieces of sigillata. A large quantity of mediaeval Arabic sherds was also found. Eth-Thuwāneh was one of the main stations along the busy Nabataean trade route. We have seen that there was a line of Nabataean stations and settlements between esh-

⁵ ME II-1, p. 316-7; PA I, pp. 108-9.

⁶ PA I, pp. 88-91.

⁷ For plans of eth-Thuwāneh see PA I, pp. 88-9.

Shôbek and eṭ-Ṭāfileh, the largest of them being Buṣeirah. From ed-Dôshak the track we were on had followed Trajan's road for about ten kilometres. Trajan's road turned then north-northeast, leading through eth-Thuwāneh and crossing the Wādī el-Ḥesā north of it.* From Petra onward, the great Nabataean highway had previously followed the same line northward through eth-Thuwāneh. It probably crossed the Wādī el-Ḥesā in much the same place



Fig. 30. Two of the large cisterns, and some of the ruins of eth-Thuwāneh, looking south.

where the Roman road crossed it later, and continued northward along the Nakhl, el-Moreighah, Kerak, Mādebā line.

* * *

As a result of these explorations, a number of conclusions may be briefly stated:

I. There was a strong Bronze Age civilization in ancient Moab between the twenty-third and the eighteenth centuries B. C., when it completely disappeared. It may have been destroyed by the Hyksos. Literary records with regard to this early occupation of Eastern Palestine are thus far almost completely lacking. The clearest reference is to be found in Genesis 14, as

* ZDPV XL, p. 142, pl. 1.

Albright has already pointed out.⁹ The discovery of this Early and Middle Bronze Age line of settlements substantiates the historical validity of the background of the biblical narrative in this account. It represents the invading armies of the Eastern Kings as marching down from Haurân through Eastern Palestine as far south as el-Paran in Edom. The sites discovered, whose pottery remains indicate that they flourished in the so-called Patriarchal Age, are all on the only possible route the invading armies could have taken. It is remarkable that the biblical records, which were first put into written form about the eighth century B. C., could recall correctly historical conditions and events of a period more than a thousand years earlier. It is especially striking in view of the fact that all the Early and Middle Bronze Age sites in Moab were destroyed and abandoned no later than about the middle of the eighteenth century B. C. Some of them were never again reoccupied, and others were reoccupied first in the Early Iron Age or during the Nabataean period. Similar examples of the correct oral transmission of historical facts for centuries before they were written down are furnished by the Iliad and the Rig Veda, as Albright points out.¹⁰

II. Between the eighteenth and the thirteenth centuries B. C. there is an almost complete gap in the history of settled communities in the region visited. With the exception of Jālûl and of el-Miṣna' and el-Medeiyneh above Lejjûn, at both of which last two mentioned places a few scraps of Middle Bronze II pottery were found, not a single site was found with pottery remains between the end of Middle Bronze I and the beginning of Early Iron I. The Egyptian lists of towns and the Tell el-Amarna tablets are silent with regard to this period in Eastern Palestine. Moab is first mentioned in the inscriptions of Rameses II.

III. There was a highly developed Moabite civilization, which seems to have flourished especially between the middle of the thirteenth and the end of the ninth centuries B. C. The richest period was definitely that of Early Iron I. From about the middle of Early Iron II Moab entered upon a rapid decline. There is an extreme paucity of pottery from the latter half of EI II. Moab does not seem to have recovered from the destruction wrought by Jehoram of Israel and Jehoram of Judah, although they failed to capture Kir-hareseth because of Mesha's sacrifice of his eldest son.¹¹ Many of the cities they destroyed were probably never rebuilt. Subsequent historical events afforded the Moabites no opportunities to regain their former wealth and power.

⁹ APB, pp. 141-8.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 144-8.

¹¹ II Kings, 3; Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, pp. 391-2.

IV. In general from about the end of EI II, but in many sites in Moab from about the eighth century on, there is another gap in the history of settled communities in the regions visited. It lasted till the rise to power of the Nabataeans about the fourth century B. C. Neither in this period of general abandonment nor in the previous historical gap mentioned is it to be understood that the land was completely unpeopled. The inhabitants had dwindled seriously in number and been reduced to a nomadic state of existence, or they were replaced by invading nomads, who roamed through the country till general political and economic factors made settled life possible again. Today, for instance, in Transjordan, now that public security is assured and economic conditions improved, new roads are being opened up and new villages and towns springing up where but a short while ago there were merely occasional camel-tracks, and only a rare Bedouin group was to be seen. Thus in the thirteenth century B. C. the Moabites, a part of the general Semitic wave that swept over Palestine then, found it possible to settle in the territory which became known as Moab. They waxed wealthy and powerful, only to become weak and disappear from the stage of history after the lapse of several centuries. The country again became desolate and abandoned, except probably for some wandering Bedouin, till the Nabataeans appeared. They were able to maintain security and peace for several centuries. They built cities and opened roads, developed trade, and prospered greatly, till they were conquered by the Romans.

V. By the fourth century B. C., the Nabataeans had swung themselves into power by gaining control of the trade routes leading northward from the Gulf of 'Aqabah. They were an Arab people but used Aramaic in their inscriptions. Their quickly and highly developed civilization had strong Hellenistic elements. The numerous Nabataean sites which we discovered make it increasingly clear that the Nabataean kingdom was highly organized and exceedingly wealthy. There was not only the capital, Petra, but also a number of large cities and numerous small towns and villages, which were joined together by important trade-routes. These were well protected by an intricate system of fortifications and watch-towers. In addition to a number of astounding architectural monuments, they developed a new type of singularly beautiful pottery. In 106 A. D. they were conquered by Trajan and quickly disappeared, leaving the ruins of many large and small sites, among the chief of which is Petra, to testify to former glory. Many of their cities and villages were taken over by the Romans, others remained unoccupied until the Byzantine or mediaeval Arabic periods, and still others have remained abandoned to this very day.

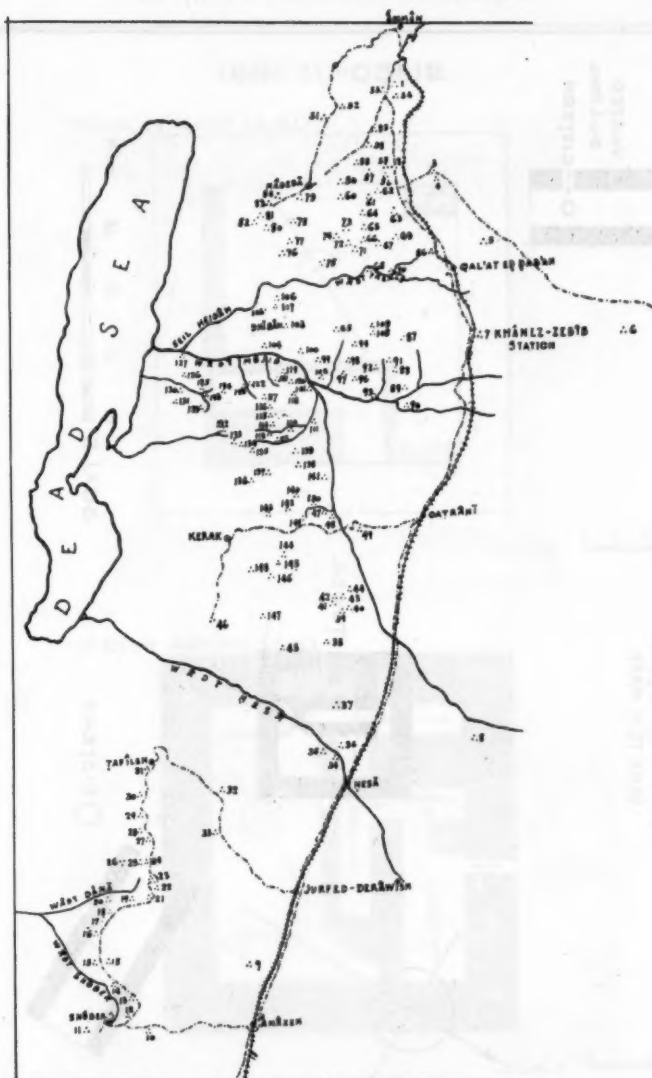
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

ANNUAL	<i>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i>
AOBAT	Gressman, <i>Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament.</i>
APB	Albright, <i>Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible.</i>
Bulletin	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.</i>
EP	Conder, <i>Survey of Eastern Palestine.</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</i>
JDAI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.</i>
M	Musil, <i>Arabia Petraea I, Moab.</i>
MA	Jaussen and Savignac, <i>Mission archéologique en Arabie.</i>
ME	Musil, <i>Arabia Petraea II, Edom.</i>
PA	Brünnnow and Domaszewski, <i>Die Provincia Arabia.</i>
PEFA	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund Annual.</i>
PEFQS	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.</i>
RB	<i>Revue Biblique.</i>
S	Butler, <i>Syria.</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.</i>

LIST OF SITES VISITED CORRESPONDING TO NUMBERS ON MAP.

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|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Jāwah. | 38. Watch-tower. |
| 2. Qaṣṭal. | 39. Ekhwein el-Khâdem. |
| 3. Meshettâ. | 40. Bir en-Nâyem. |
| 4. 'Enfedân. | 41. Bir Bashbash. |
| 5. Qeneitrah. | 42. Watch-tower. |
| 6. Rujm esh-Shîd. | 43. Qaṣr No'mân. |
| 7. Khân ez-Zebîb. | 44. Qaṣr Abû Rukbeh. |
| 8. Qaṣr Meshîsh. | 45. Medeibî. |
| 9. Da'jāniyeh. | 46. Ja'far. |
| 10. ed-Dôshak. | 47. Lejjûn. |
| 11. 'Ain Nejel. | 48. Rujm Lejjûn. |
| 12. Roman milestone. | 49. Ruin. |
| 13. Roman milestone. | 50. Jalûl. |
| 14. Roman milestone. | 51. Ḥesbân. |
| 15. Ruin. | 52. el-'Âl. |
| 16. Kh. el-Bîr. | 53. Kh. el-Yadûdeh. |
| 17. Ruin. | 54. Kh. er-Rufaiseh. |
| 18. Kh. el-'Alimeh. | 55. Zobâyer el-Qaṣṭal. |
| 19. Imtât. | 56. Zobâyer et-Twâl. |
| 20. Dānâ. | 57. Dafyâneh. |
| 21. Rushdiyyeh. | 58. Kh. Umm Rummâneh. |
| 22. Kh. Gharandel. | 59. Zobâyer 'Adwân. |
| 23. Kh. Zeitûneh. | 60. Kh. Ḥawwârah. |
| 24. Kh. el-Jenîn. | 61. Zobâyer ed-Dreibeh. |
| 25. Kh. el-Jenîn. | 62. Kh. Zweizâ. |
| 26. Buṣeirah. | 63. Kh. es-Siker. |
| 27. Kh. es-Sa'weh. | 64. Kh. Umm el-Qeṣeir. |
| 28. Kh. el-Beidâ. | 65. Umm el-Walîd. |
| 29. Kh. el-Ḥanâneh. | 66. Kh. el-Herî. |
| 30. Ruin. | 67. Kh. Zeinab. |
| 31. Ruin. | 68. Kh. el-Medeiyineh. |
| 32. 'Abûr. | 69. Kh. Ibn 'Aleiq. |
| 33. eth-Thuwâneh. | 70. Kh. ez-Zônah. |
| 34. Qal'at el-Ḥesâ. | 71. Qaṣr ez-Za'ferân II. |
| 35. er-Ruweihah (Râs el-Wâd). | 72. Qaṣr ez-Za'ferân I. |
| 36. Watch-tower. | 73. Kh. Nîtl. |
| 37. Qaṣr Shôkhar. | 74. Kh. ed-Deleilat esh-Sherqiyeh. |

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|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 75. Kh. el-Melîh. | 113. Kh. es-Sa'adûnî. |
| 76. Kh. Libb. | 114. Kh. er-Rubî. |
| 77. Kh. Hreidîn. | 115. Kh. ed-Denneh. |
| 78. Mereijmet el-Gharbiyeh. | 116. Kh. es-Samrâ. |
| 79. Kh. et-Teim. | 117. Kh. ed-Dribbân. |
| 80. Uṭba'iyeh. | 118. Kh. Abū Trâbeh. |
| 81. Ḥajr Maṣûb. | 119. Meḥattet el-Hâjj. |
| 82. el-Megheirât. | 120. er-Rihâ. |
| 83. Mâ'in. | 121. Rujm Umm el-Qleib. |
| 84. Qaṣr el-Werd. | 122. Kh. Miṣ'ar. |
| 85. Umm el-'Amad. | 123. Freiwân. |
| 86. Qeṣeir Dubai'ah. | 124. Rujm Umm 'Awarwareh. |
| 87. el-Meseitbeh. | 125. Rujm Umm el-Ḥelâl. |
| 88. Watch-tower. | 126. Rujm el-Manârah. |
| 89. Qaṣr eth-Thrayyâ. | 127. Dâr er-Riyâshî. |
| 90. Qaṣr ed-Dirseh. | 128. Faqû'ah. |
| 91. Ruin. | 129. Mrâ'. |
| 92. Sâliyeh. | 130. er-Râs. |
| 93. Kh. el-Medeiyineh. | 131. 'Arṣah Suleimân ibn Dâûd. |
| 94. Kh. el-Jemeil. | 132. Mejdelein. |
| 95. Kh. el-Mesheirfeh. | 133. Kh. Tedûn. |
| 96. er-Râmeh. | 134. Sejerah. |
| 97. Watch-tower. | 135. Qaṣr Rabbah. |
| 98. Rujm Dâ'in. | 136. er-Rabbah. |
| 99. el-Leḥûn. | 137. el-Miṣna'. |
| 100. 'Arâ'ir. | 138. Ḥamûd. |
| 101. 'Ajam. | 139. es-Smâkiyeh. |
| 102. Umm Rummâneh. | 140. Jedeideh. |
| 103. Dhibân. | 141. Kh. el-Medeiyineh. |
| 104. Kh. el-Mathlûtheh. | 142. Kh. Ḥejfeh. |
| 105. Kh. esh-Sheqeiq. | 143. Ader. |
| 106. Shejeret Khalffeh. | 144. Qeṣeir et-Tamrah. |
| 107. Kh. Barzah. | 145. el-Moreighah. |
| 108. Umm er-Raṣāṣ. | 146. Kh. el-Batrah. |
| 109. Sarbût. | 147. Nakhl. |
| 110. Bâlû'ah. | 148. Nesheinish. |
| 111. Kh. 'Azzûr. | 149. Rujm el-Beteimeh. |
| 112. Kh. Naṣîh. | 150. Kh. el-Fityân. |



SCALE 1:500,000

KILOMETRES 0 5 10 15 20

REFERENCE.

RAILWAY

ROADS (DASHED IN WET WEATHER)

ANTIQUITY SITES

DRAWN BY: MR. R. G. H. L. DEPT. OF ANTIQUITIES TRANS JORDAN

PLATE 1

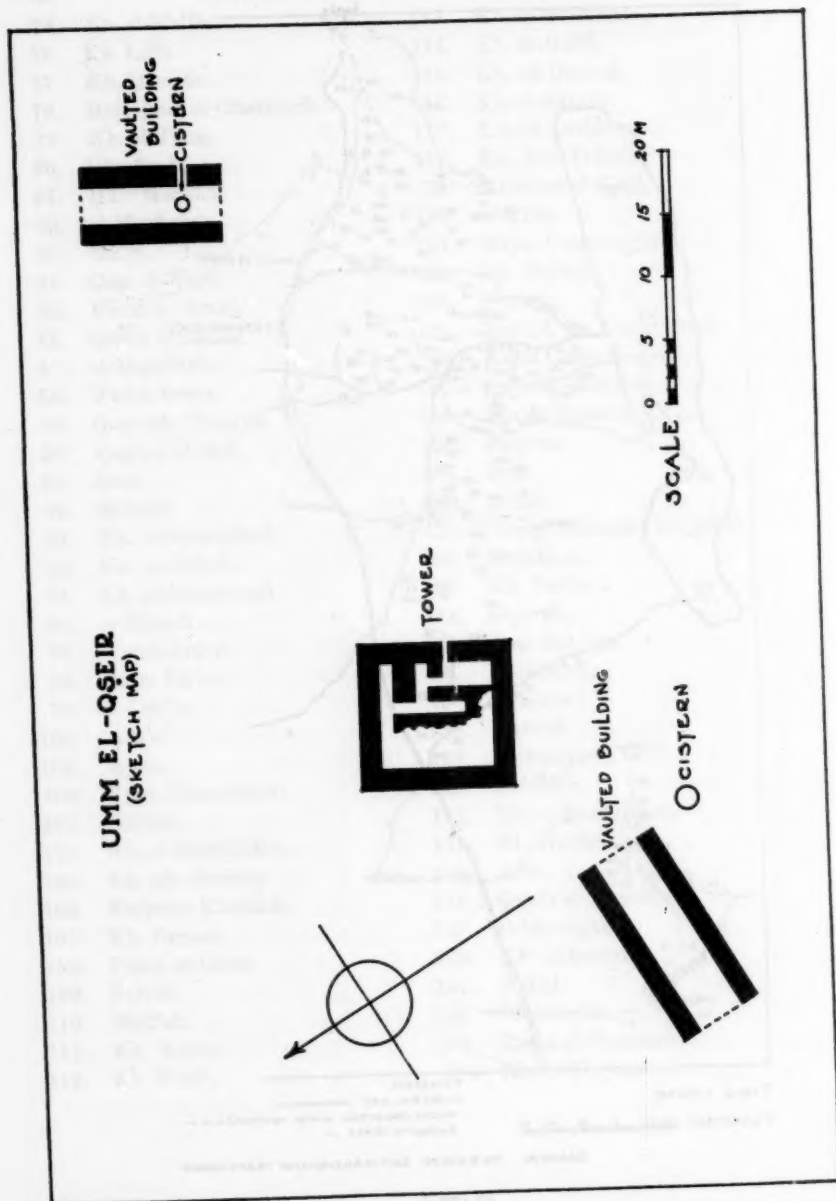
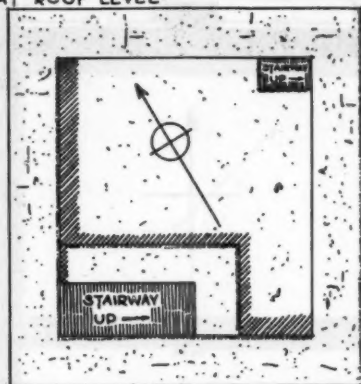


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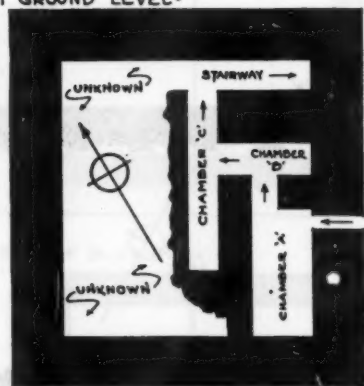
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• PLAN AT ROOF LEVEL •



SCALE 0 1 2 3 m

• PLAN AT GROUND LEVEL •



SCALE 0 1 2 3 m

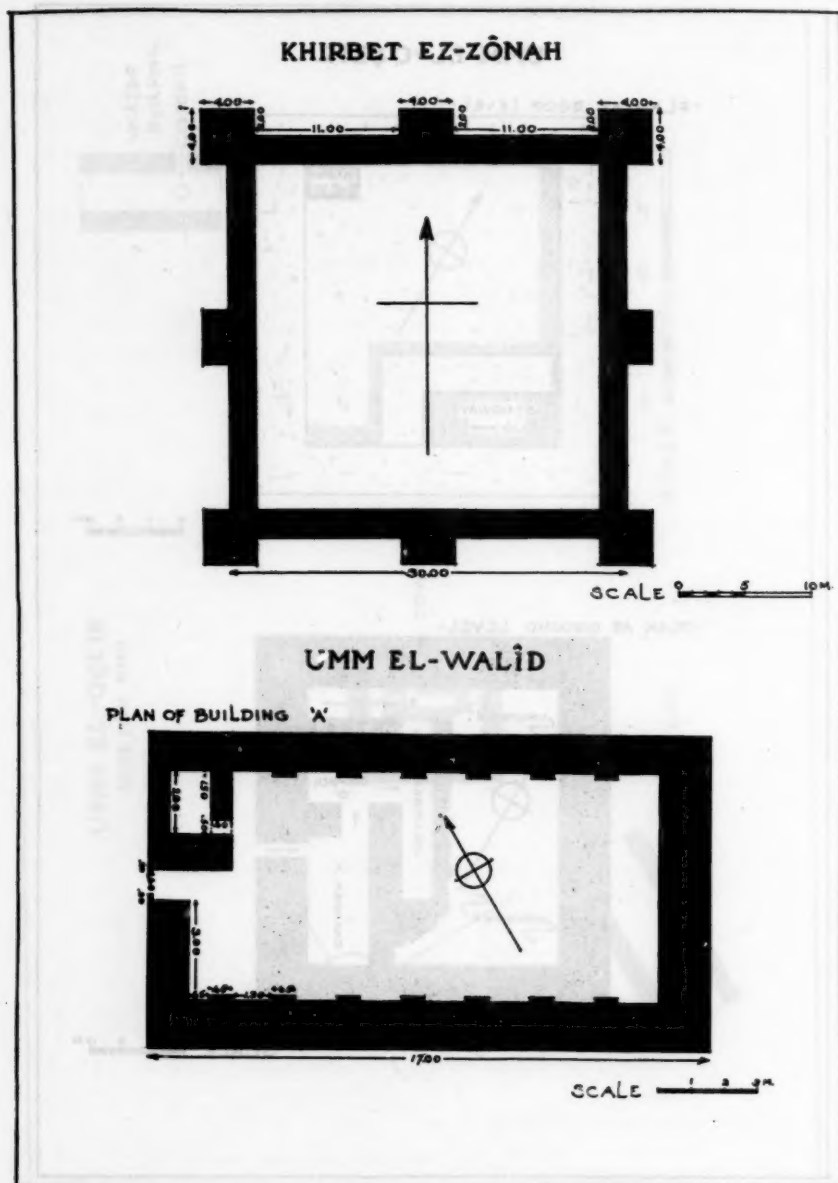


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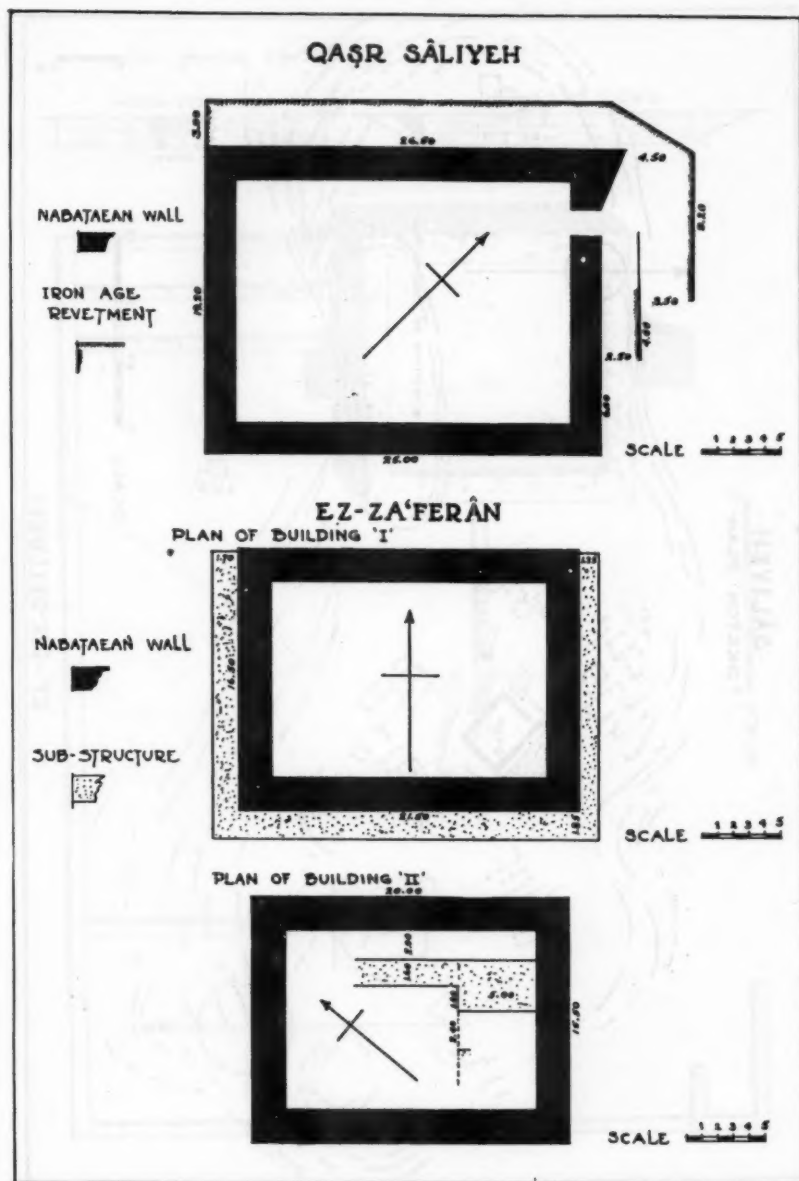


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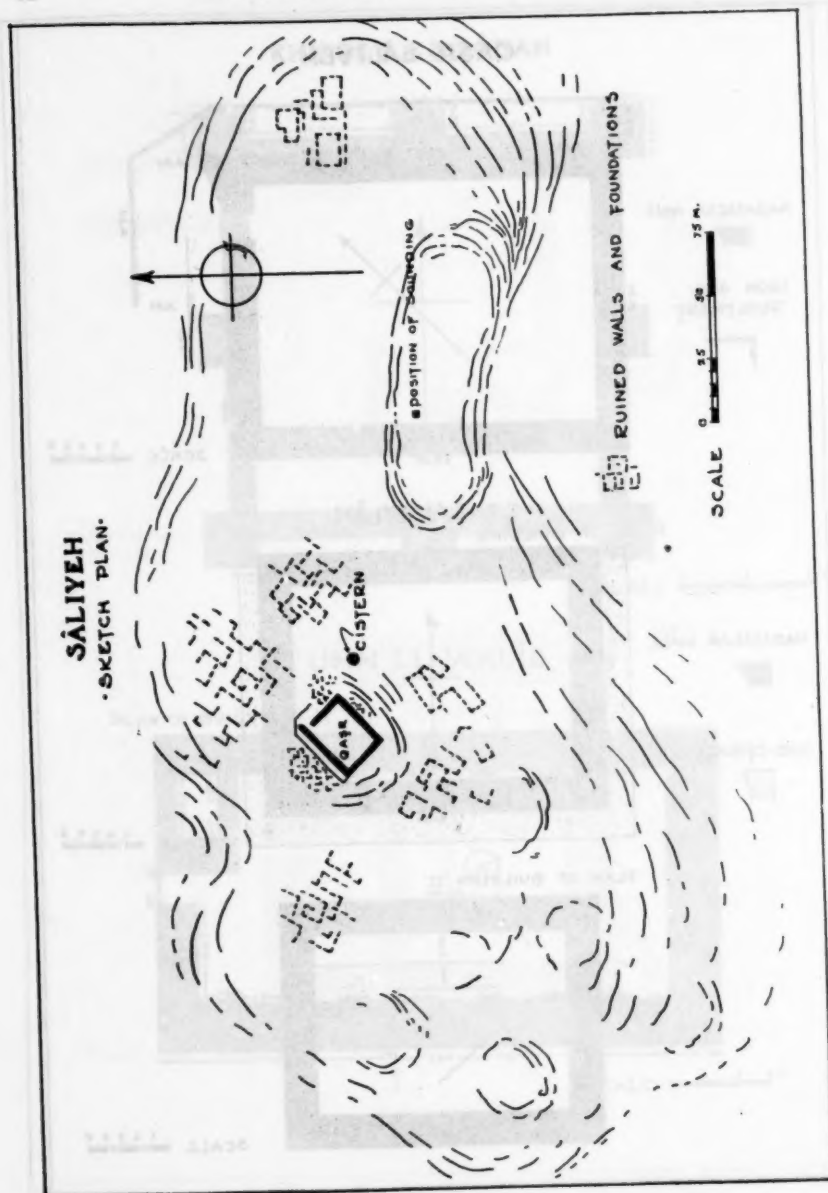


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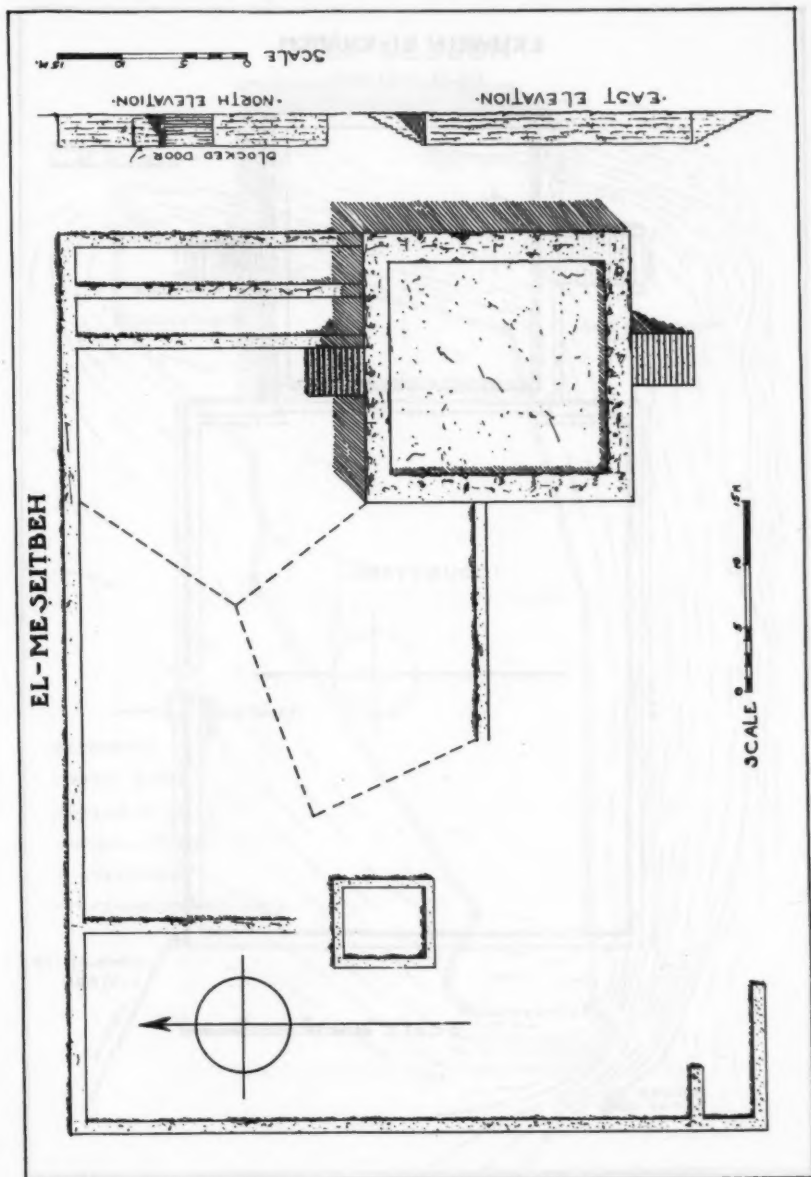


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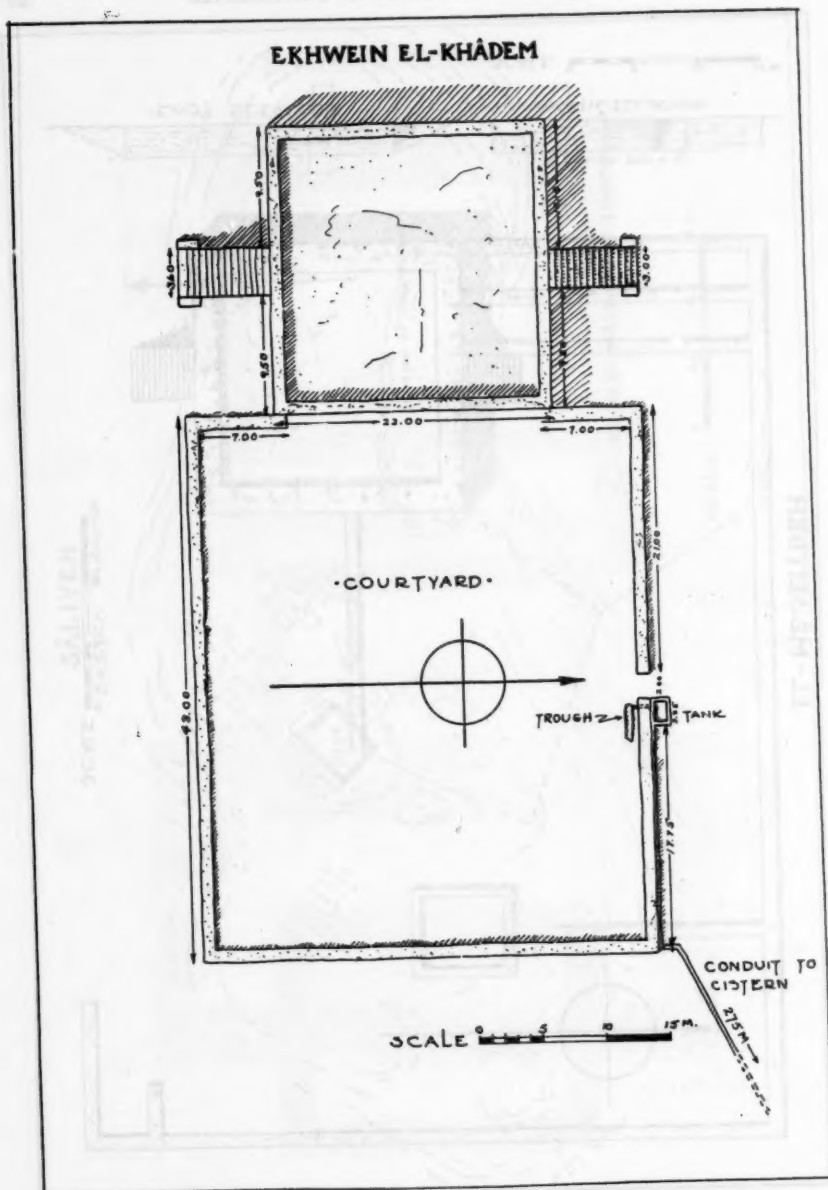


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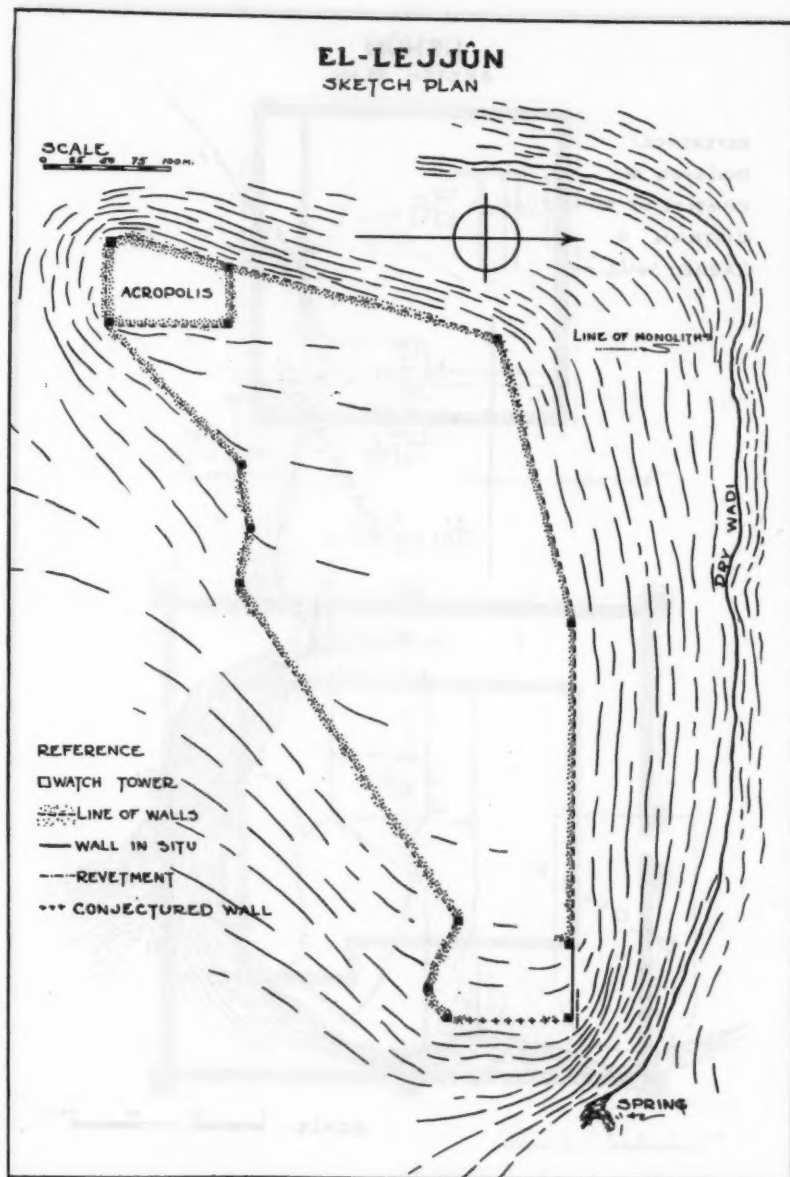


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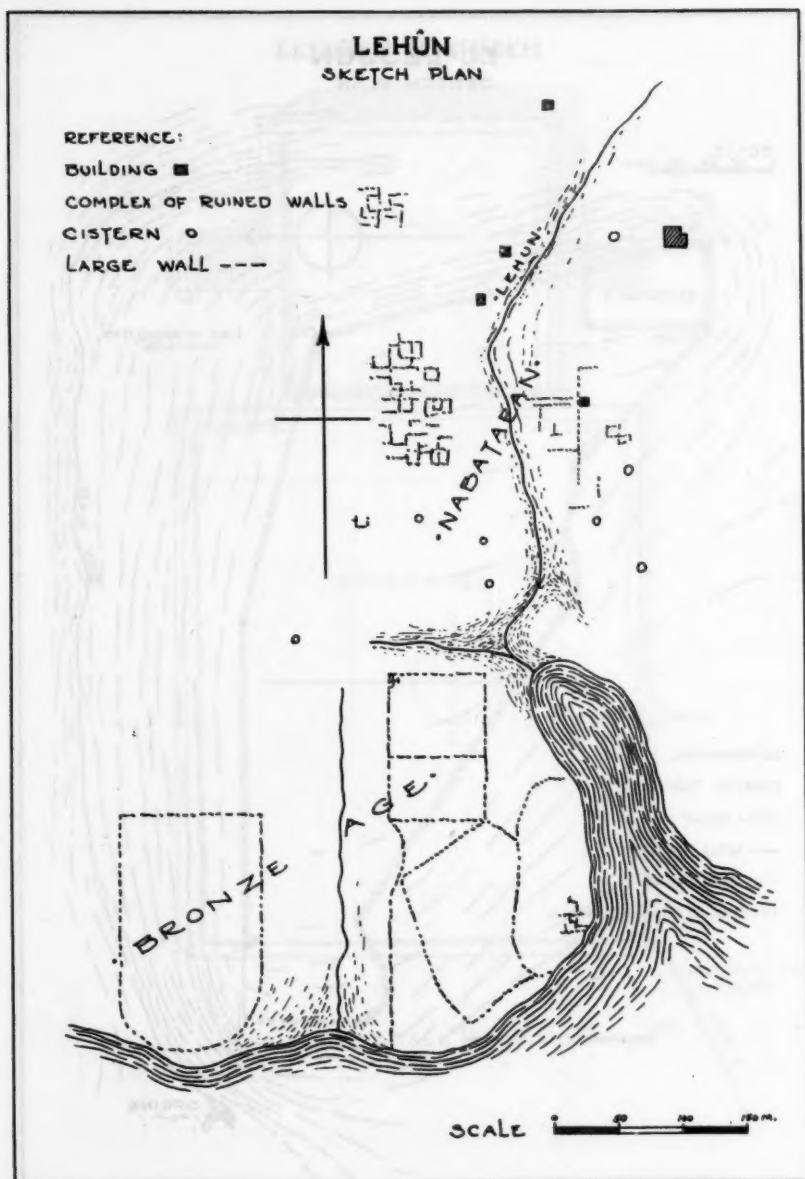
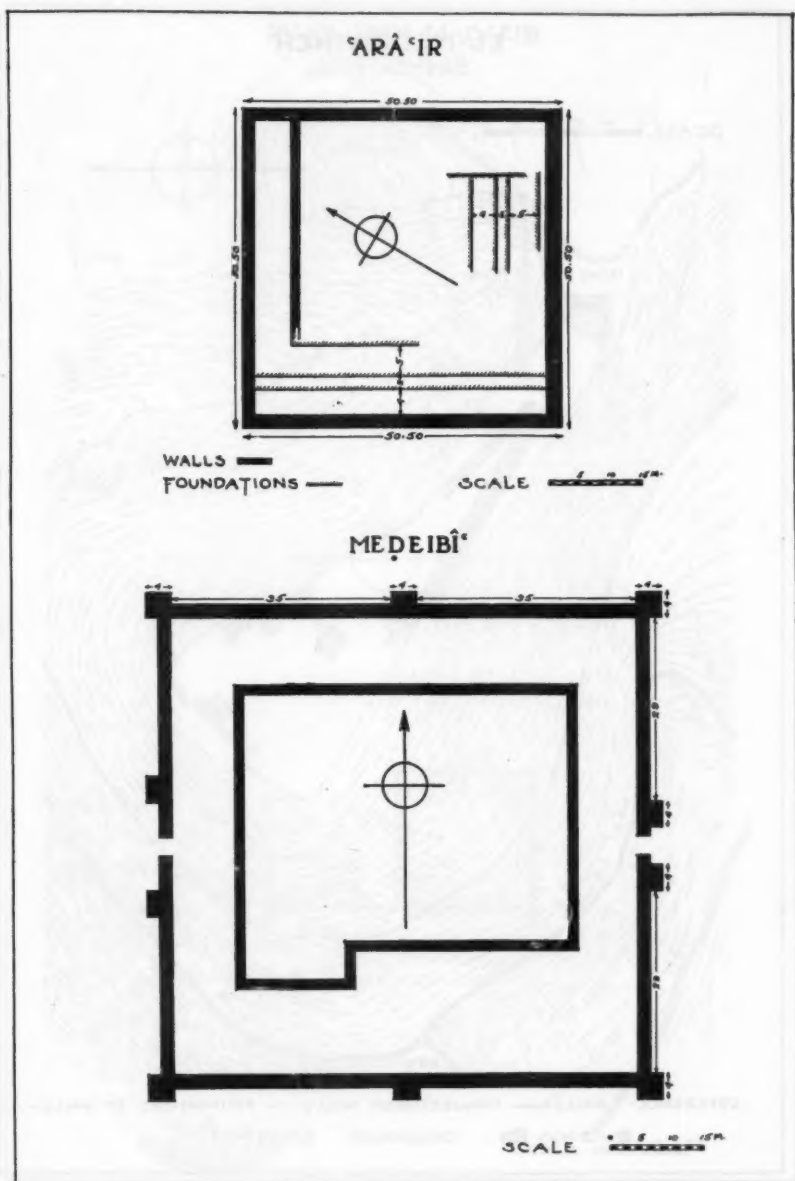


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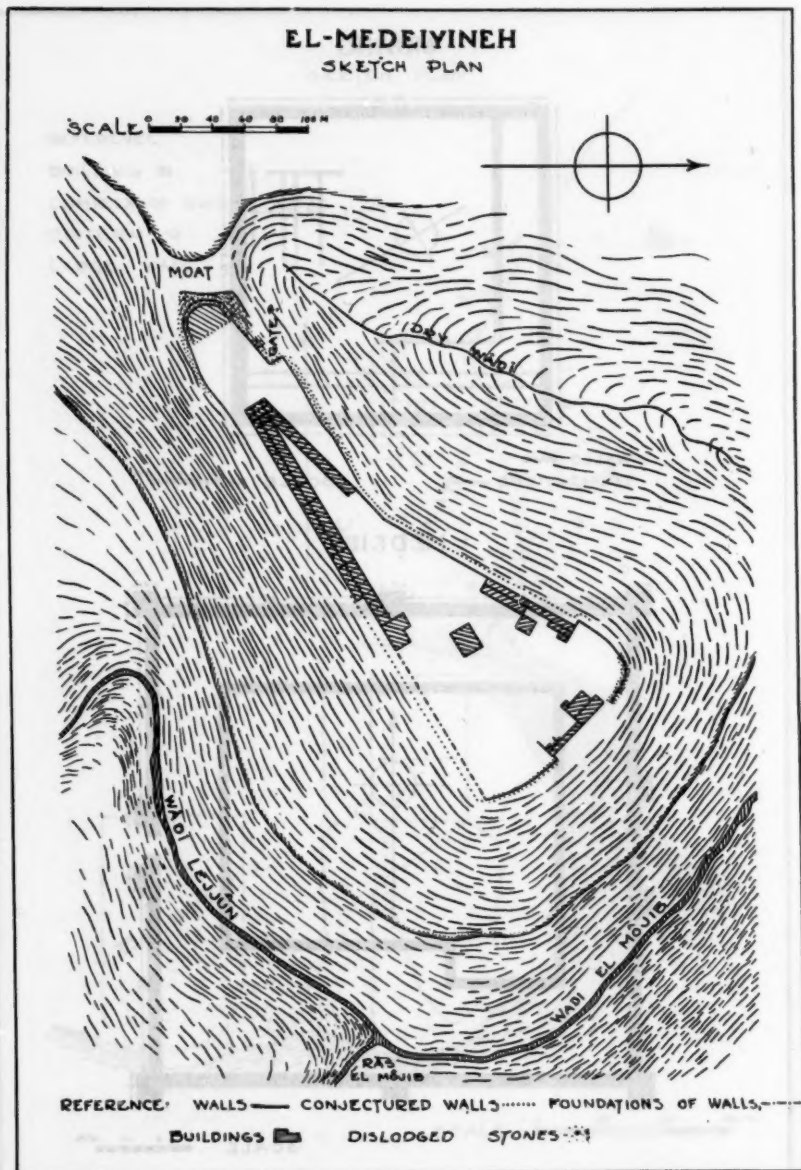


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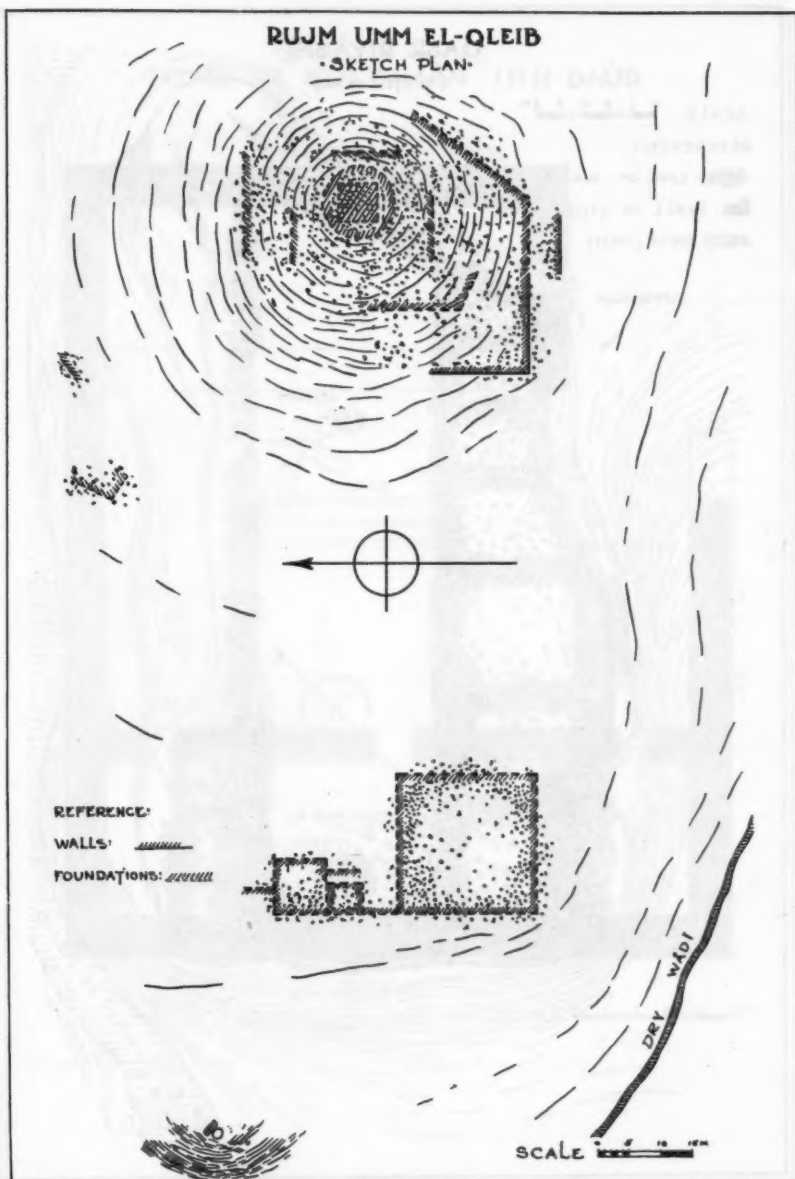


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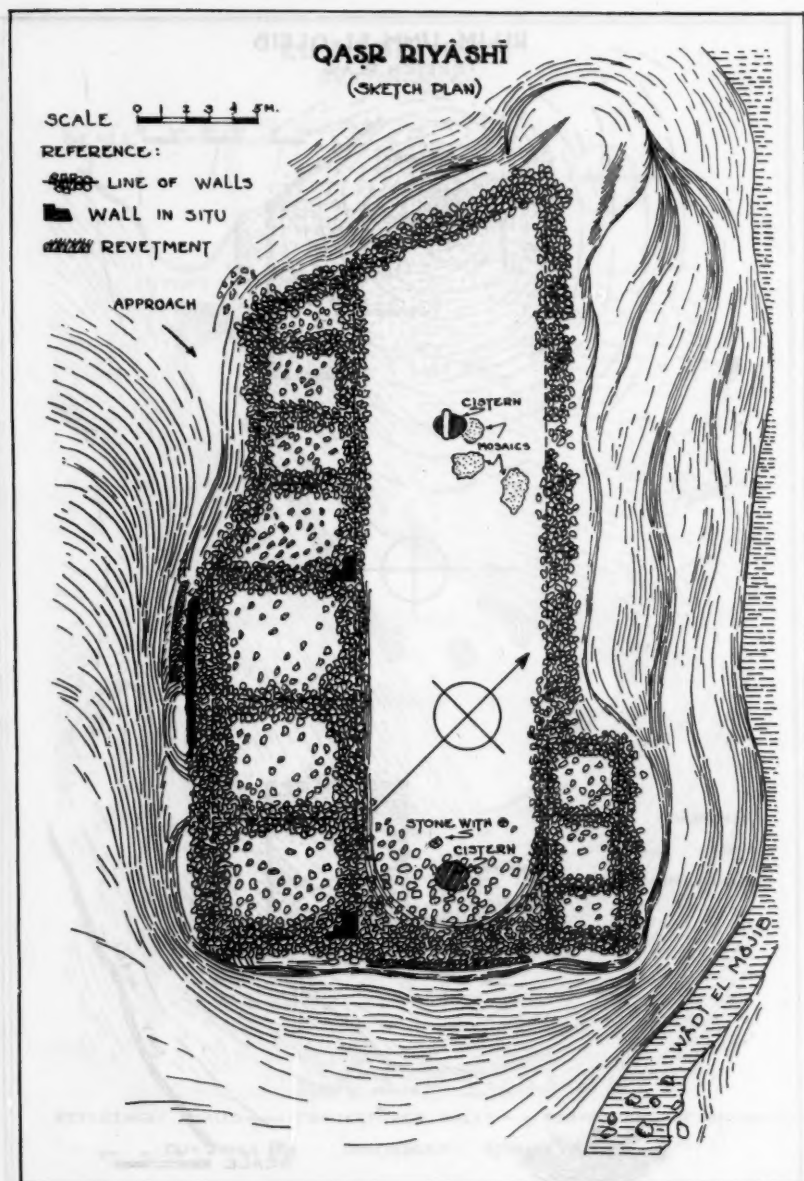
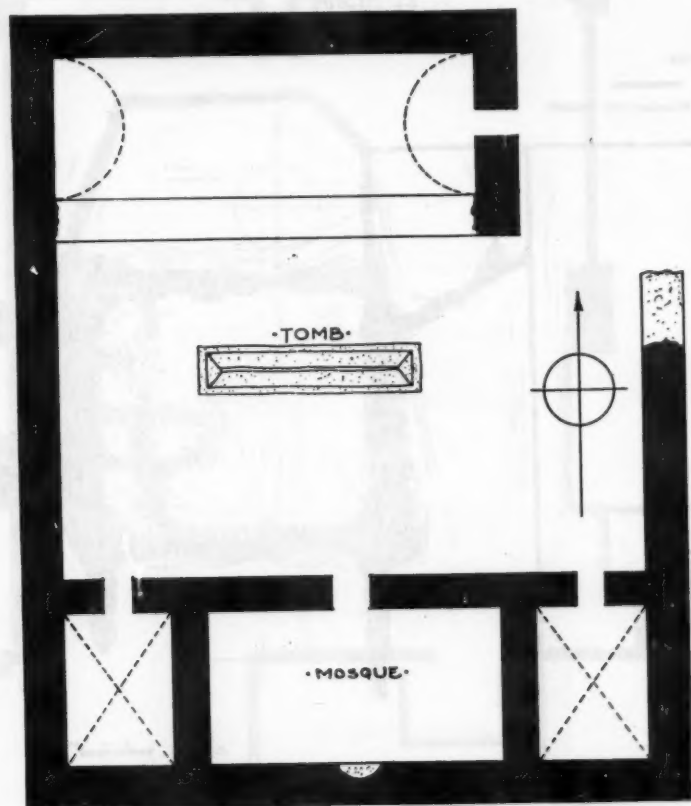


PLATE 14

TOMB OF SULEIMÂN IBN DAÛD



SCALE 1 3 5 7 m.

PLATE 15

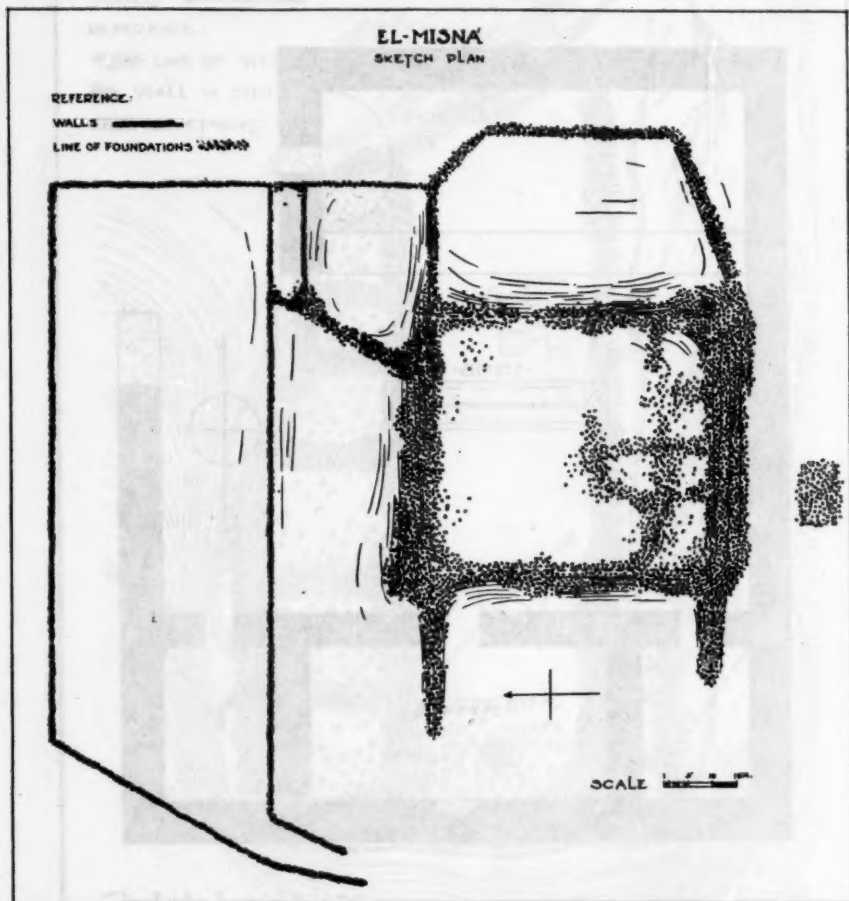


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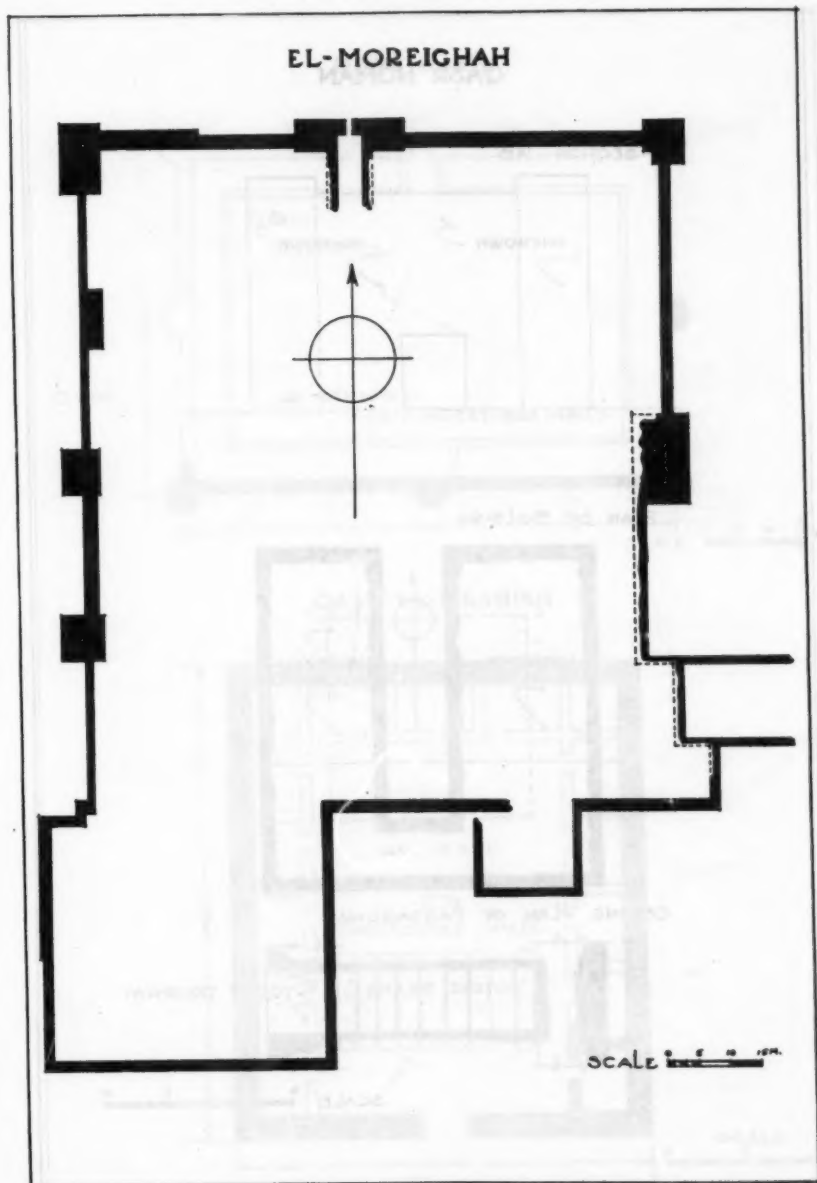


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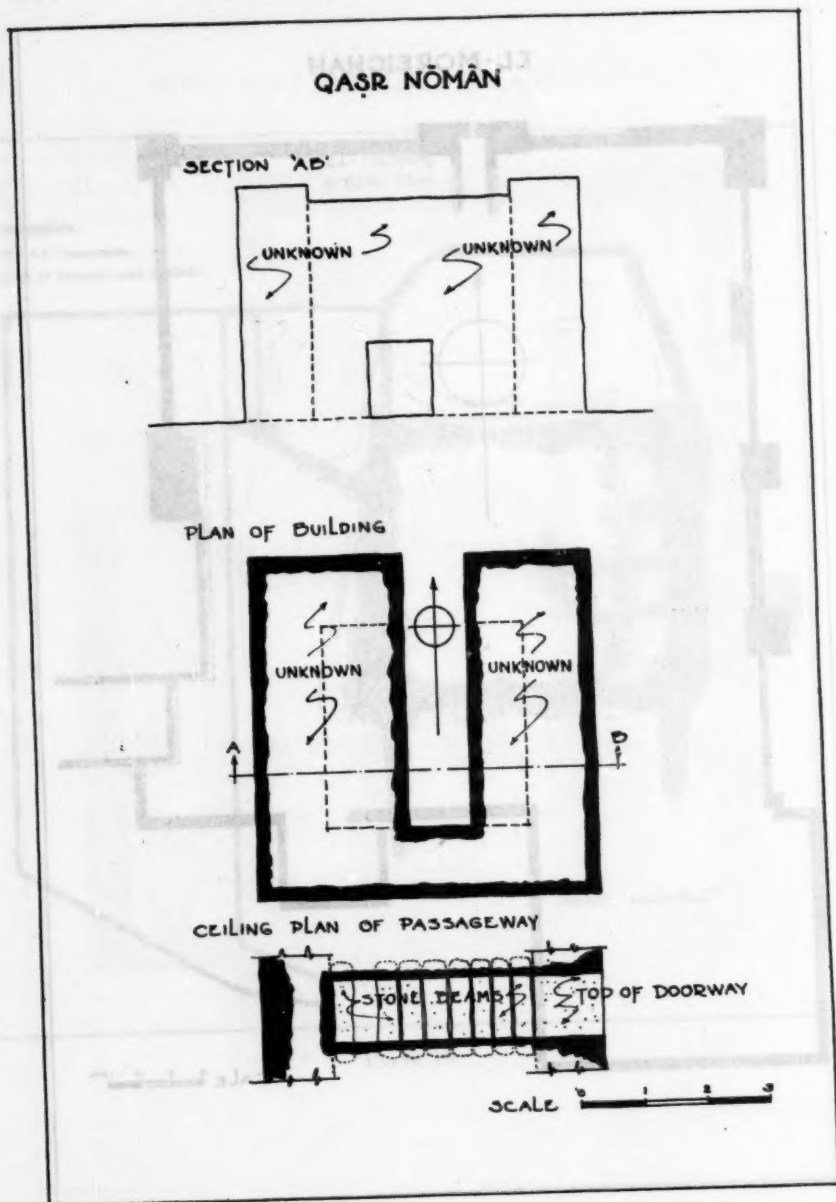


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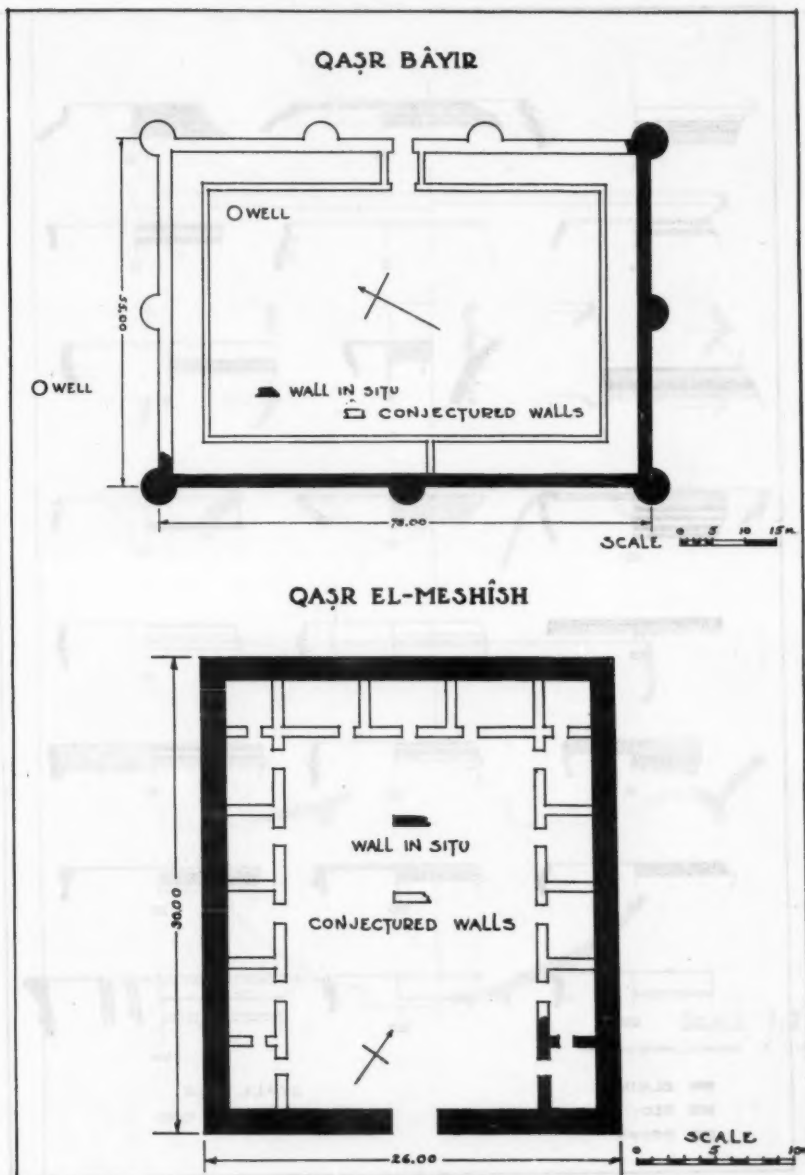


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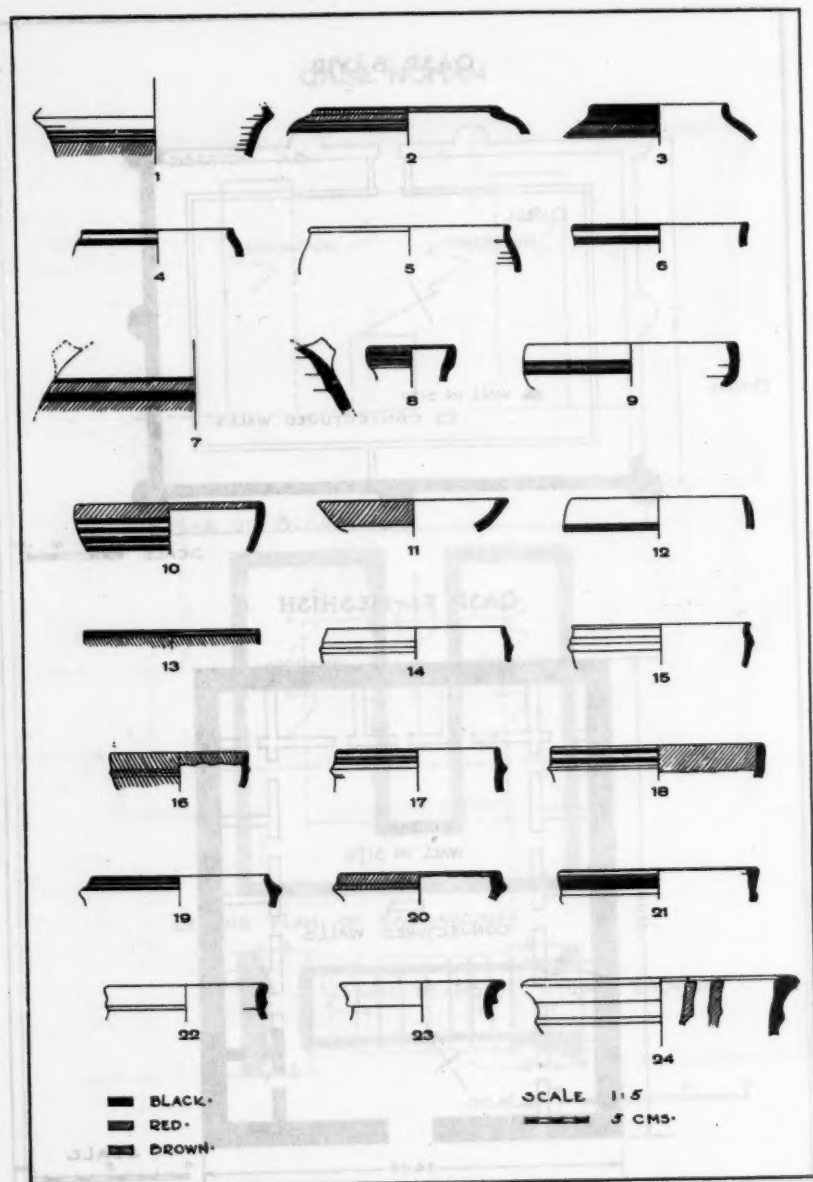


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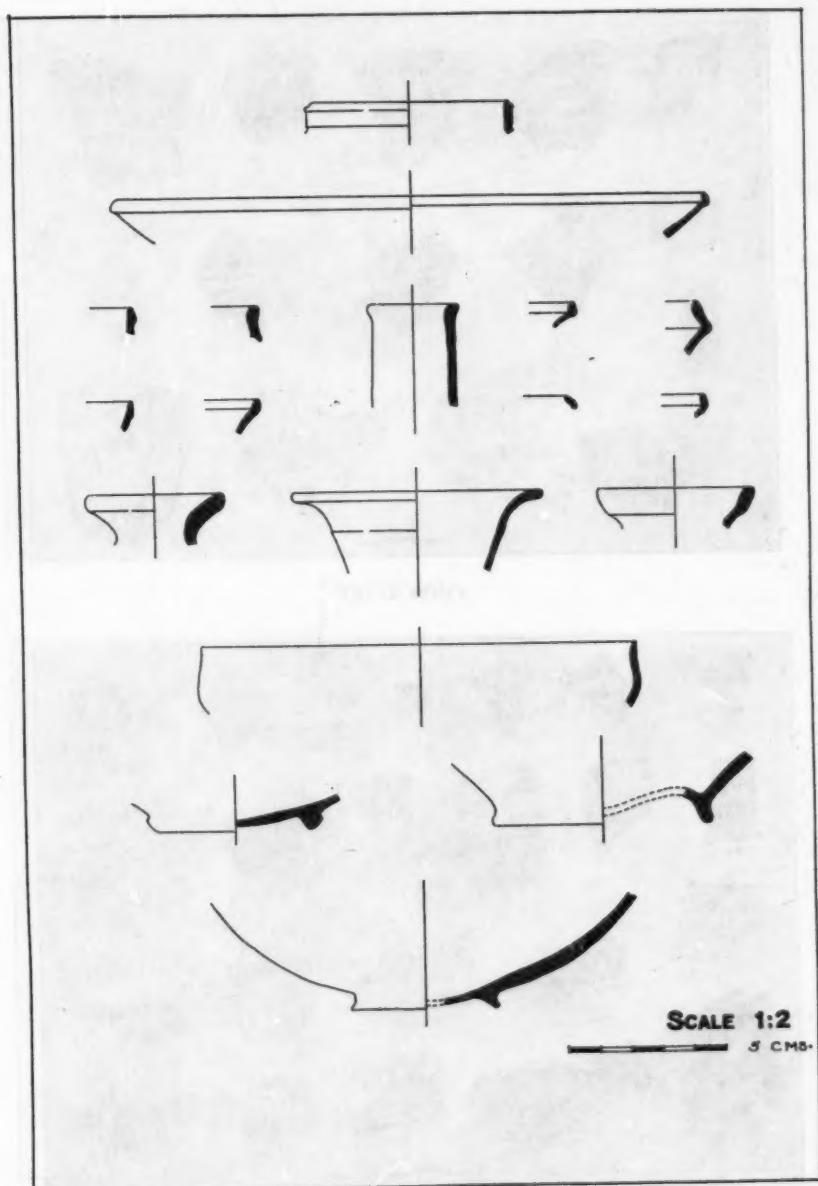


PLATE 21

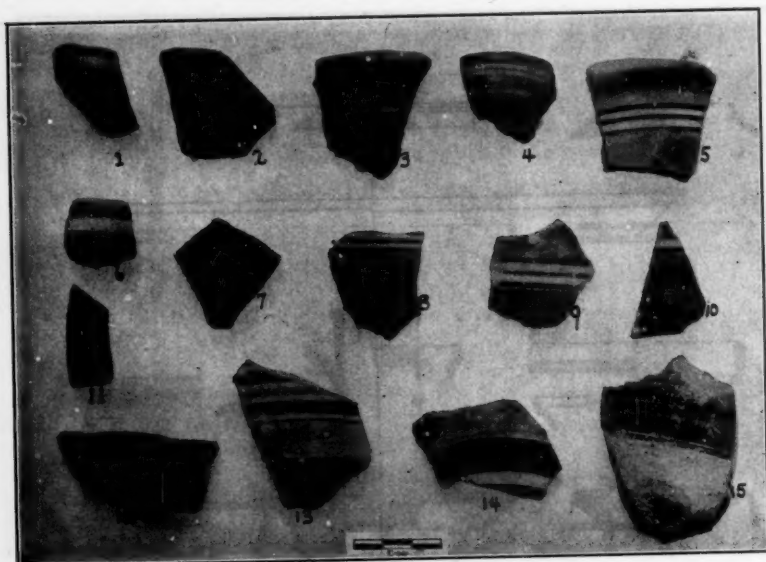


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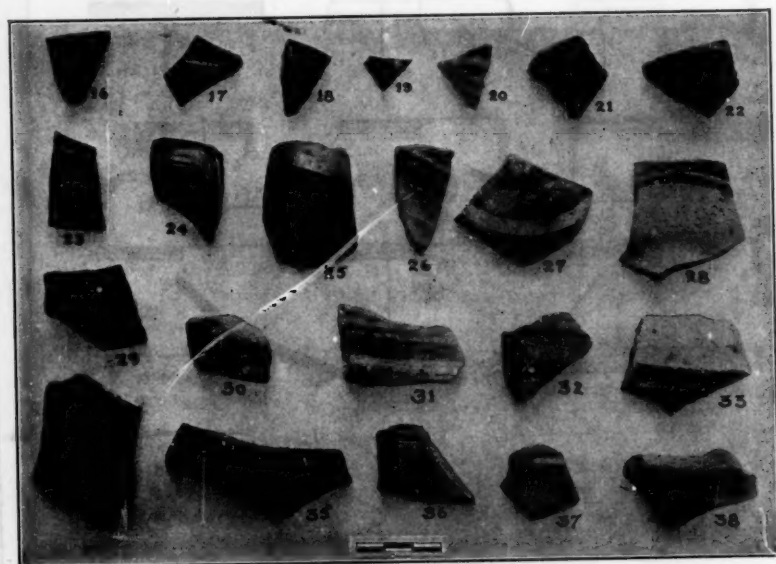


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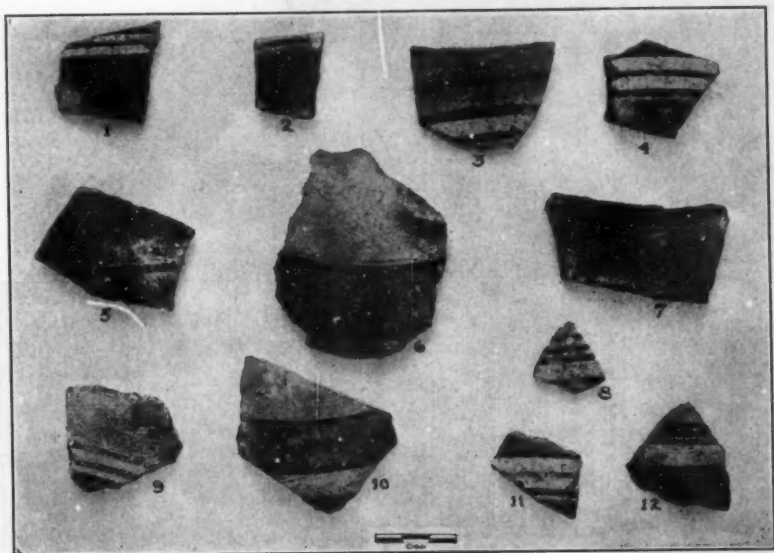


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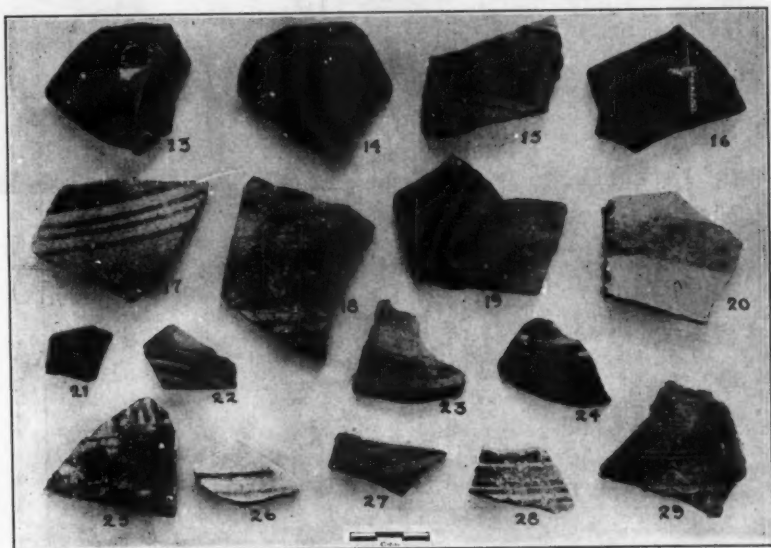


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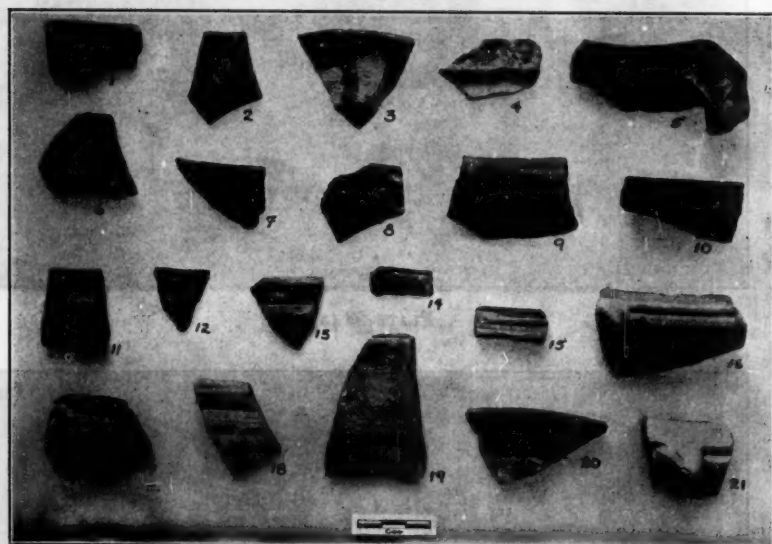


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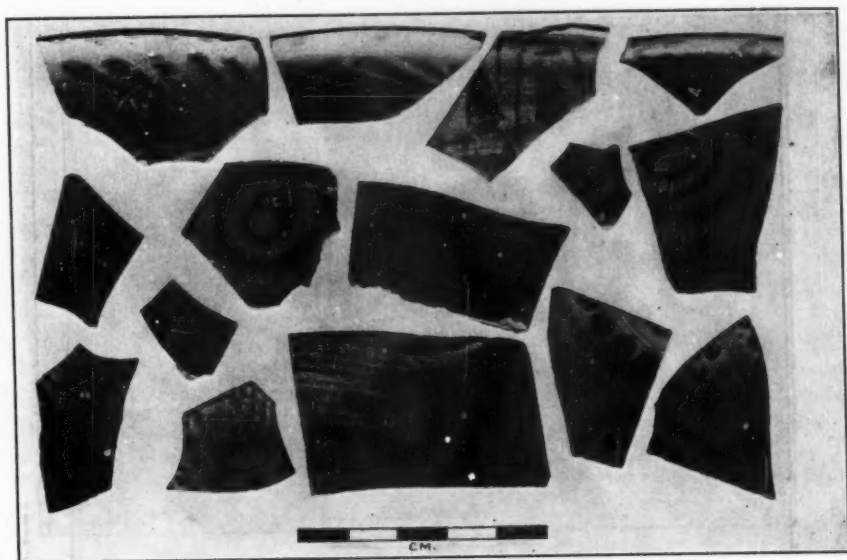


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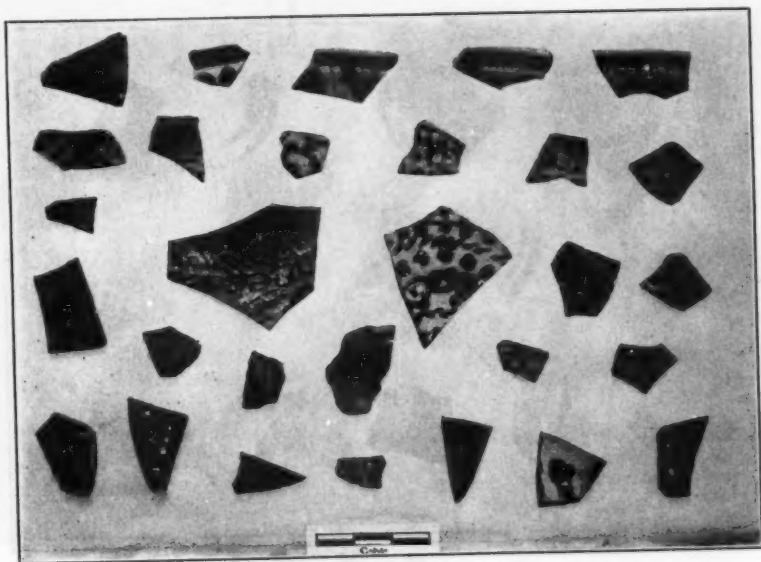


PLATE 25 (b)



PLATE 26 (a)

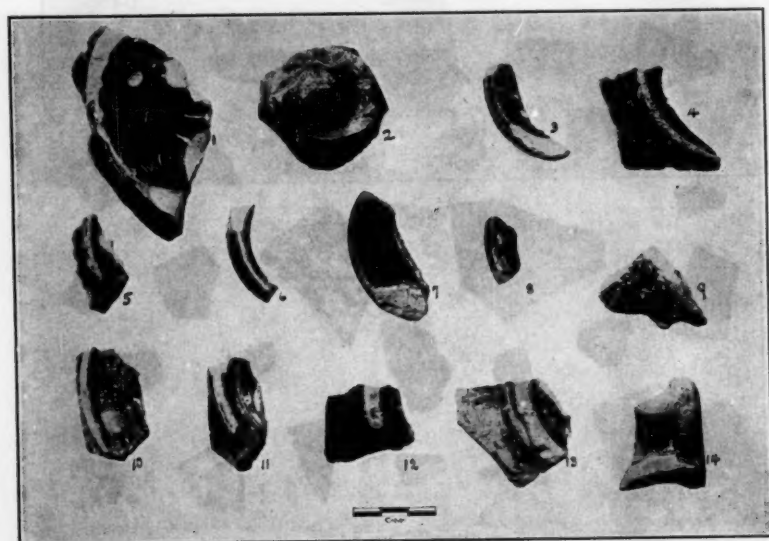


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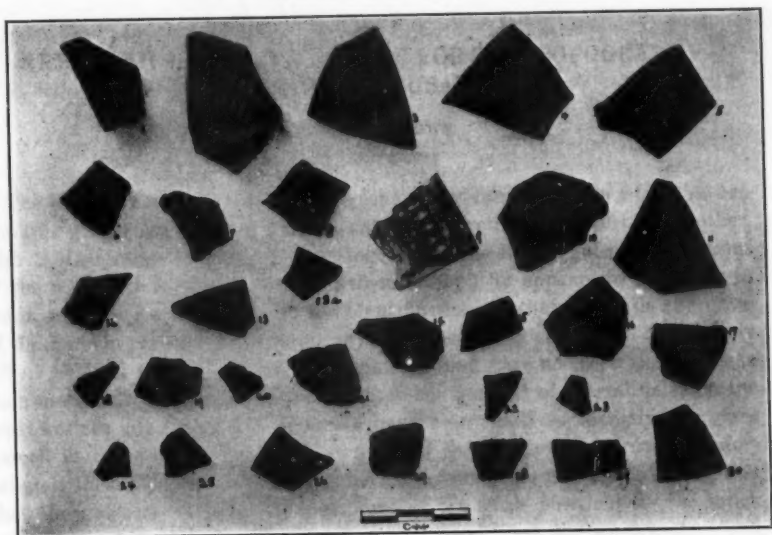


PLATE 27

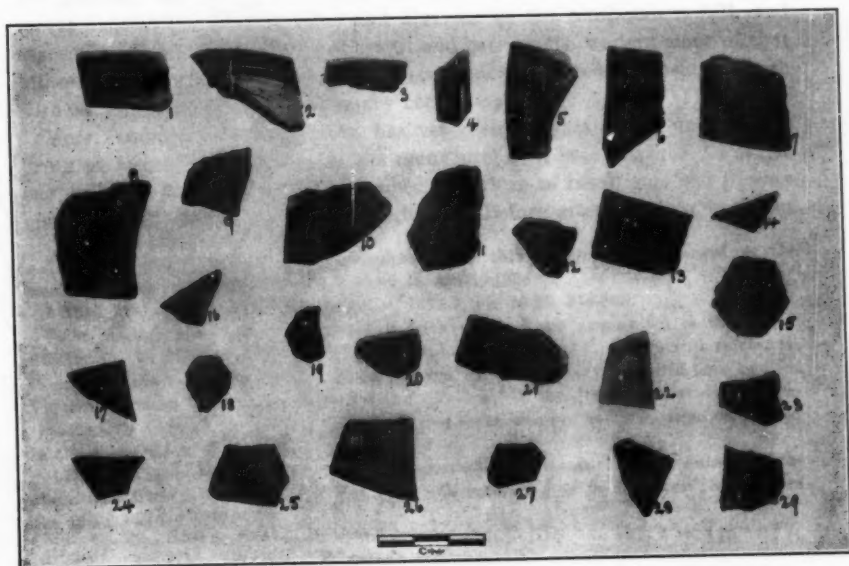


PLATE 28



NEHEMIAH 3: 1-32 AS A SOURCE FOR THE TOPOGRAPHY
OF ANCIENT JERUSALEM *

MILLAR BURROWS
YALE UNIVERSITY

The ideal situation in studies of ancient topography is one in which we can combine archaeological and literary data, interpreting the one by the other, with the assurance that they belong together. The list of gates and portions of the wall of Jerusalem given in Nehemiah 3: 1-32 appears to be a case in point, providing a document for the identification of whatever walls and gates of the Persian period have been or may be uncovered by excavation at the Holy City. Biblical scholars and archaeologists, indeed, have not been slow to make such use of it. Ever since Bliss discovered the remains of several gates on the southwestern hill,¹ repeated attempts have been made to identify the gates named in this passage and in other parts of the book of Nehemiah. Unfortunately these identifications have generally involved the precarious assumption that the gates of Nehemiah's time were in the same positions as the much later remains discovered and described by Bliss. That the southwestern hill was included in the city at all in Nehemiah's time is by no means to be taken for granted, nor has it ever been conclusively demonstrated.² The more recent excavations of Macalister and Duncan on the southeastern hill, and especially Crowfoot's discovery of a wall and gate on the western slope of that hill overlooking the Tyropoean Valley, have evoked renewed discussion, though without as yet producing satisfactory conclusions.³

More extended excavation than has yet been possible would undoubtedly bring us nearer to a solution of the many problems here involved. Part of our difficulty, however, must be ascribed to failure to investigate the literary material itself with sufficient thoroughness. Before attempting to work out

* A preliminary report giving the substance of this article was presented at the meeting of the American Oriental Society in April, 1934.

¹ Bliss, F. J., *Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894-7*, pp. 16-20, 314-335.

² The latest attempt to demonstrate it with which I am acquainted is that of J. Fischer in the *Theologische Quartalschrift*, vol. cxlii, pp. 264 ff., where full references to previous discussions of the question are given. Attention may be called here to Père Vincent's article, "Jérusalem Ville Sainte" (*Journal of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, 1934-35, pp. iii-xvi), which did not come into my hands in time to be used in the preparation of this article.

³ For the discoveries of Macalister and Duncan see their report in the *Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, No. 4 (1925). Crowfoot's gate is described in No. 5 of the same *Annual* (1929).

the relations between points named in such a work as the book of Nehemiah and the actual remains uncovered at Jerusalem, we must analyse the literary data and determine more exactly their topographical implications. Such a study of Nehemiah 3: 1-32 is attempted in the following pages.

Literary Analysis.

The method here followed may be described as that of graphic analysis. A chart has been constructed (Pl. 1) for the purpose of exposing the data to observation in such a form as will enable us to see the facts of the case in a comprehensive way, with a minimum of presupposition and interpretation. I assume that we should see what sense we can make of the present text before attempting any reconstruction. I assume also that the author of the list is to be allowed the privilege of varying occasionally his forms of expression. Consequently the passage is presented in the chart according to the Masoretic text, without any emendation or transposition. I do not, however, assume that the list reproduces exactly the actual topography of Nehemiah's period or of any period. What we have here may be an accurate account of the wall as restored by Nehemiah; it may describe the wall of the Chronicler's time; or it may be inaccurate for any time in actual history. Our present purpose, moreover, does not require any assumption as to the date or composition of the list. Critics are now fairly well agreed that it does not belong to the memoirs of Nehemiah. Torrey holds that it was composed by the Chronicler.⁴ Holscher believes that it is a genuine record and suggests that it may have been kept in the archives at Jerusalem along with Nehemiah's memoirs.⁵ In a study of Nehemiah 3: 33-37 which is to appear elsewhere I have offered a theory as to the editorial procedure by which our list was incorporated in the book of Nehemiah. Our present analysis, however, is independent of any presuppositions whatever regarding these matters.

Forty-one parties are named as participating in the restoration of the walls. The chart accordingly divides the text into forty-one sections, disregarding the verse-division. The column to the right gives the names of the workers, the middle column gives the portions repaired by the respective parties, and the column to the left gives the terminus of each portion, where this is stated. It will be seen that in many cases the portions built by the workers or groups of workers are not designated, and in several other instances the designation is

⁴ *Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah* (1896); *Ezra Studies* (1910), *in loc.*

⁵ See the introduction to his commentary on Ezra and Nehemiah in Kautsch: *Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments* (1922).

incomplete or obscure. In four cases, on the other hand, double or even triple termini are mentioned: e. g., Eliashib and the priests built the Sheep Gate, we are told, "and to the Tower of the Hundred . . . to the Tower of Hananel" (i).⁶ In many instances, also, the personal suffixes in the introductory formulae, *beside him* (or *them*) and *after him*, do not correspond to their apparent antecedents. This last difficulty, to be sure, the commentators meet easily by free emendation, but while such a procedure would appear plausible if there were only one or two instances of incongruity between suffix and antecedent, it ceases to be so when there are so many. Within the separate statements of builders or groups of builders, moreover, there are many textual difficulties, and the versions give us very little help.

A glance at the chart will reveal another striking fact. The list falls into two almost equal parts (designated as I and II), which are distinguished by different introductory formulae. In I (vv. 1-15) each party is introduced by the phrase, *at his* (or *their*) *hand*; in II (vv. 16-32) the formula is, with a few exceptions, *after him*. Comparing these two divisions more closely, we note that in I six gates are named as having been built, whereas in II, while several gates are mentioned as termini, none is said to have been built or repaired. At first sight one might suppose that Nehemiah's enterprise included only a part of the wall and was recorded in one of the two parts of our list. If that were so, the Chronicler might have added the other portion to make the circuit complete. On closer examination, however, this proves unlikely. A comparison of the personal names in both parts with those found in other portions of the Chronicler's history shows that many of the names in this chapter occur frequently in Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, and some of them are not found elsewhere, but there is no perceptible difference in this respect between parts I and II. Of the topographical names all but two of those in I are paralleled in Nehemiah 12, while only five of the fourteen in II have parallels or near parallels in that chapter or elsewhere in Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah. The unparallelled names, however, are those of minor points which might easily escape mention elsewhere. Here too there seems to be no significant difference to warrant our attributing one part rather than the other to the Chronicler.

The next hypothesis which suggests itself is that we have here two separate

⁶ In the following pages references in small Roman numerals (e. g., i, xii) refer to the numbered sections of the chart, to which the term 'section' always refers. The verse-numbers are not used in most cases, but for convenience of reference they are given in parentheses on the chart. In section xx the phrase *לִבְנֵי הַמִּצְדָּה* should be on a level with the bottom line of the middle column.

lists, both authentic, perhaps, but describing two different enterprises, which have been combined by an editor. The change of formulae, the difference regarding the gates, and the fact that these two differences coincide may be urged in favor of the hypothesis; other considerations, however, render it improbable. There is no duplication in the points named in the two lists and no evidence of overlapping. Part II ends where I begins, completing the circle, though of course this may be an editorial touch. Furthermore, three individuals (Eliashib, Meremoth ben-Uriah, and Meshullam ben-Berechiah) and one group (the Tekoites) occur in both parts, indicating that the two parts of the list refer either to the same enterprise or to nearly contemporaneous enterprises. The house of Eliashib, to be sure, might have continued to be known by his name after his death, and the Tekoites might have participated in work on the walls of Jerusalem at different times, but the other two names refer definitely to individual builders who appear in both I and II. The uniform use of *הרחיק* and of the title *שר הצי פלך* in both parts points to a common authorship, as does also the occurrence of *על־ידו* in section xxiii, of *ונגר ביתו* in xiv, and of *מרה שנית* in xvi, although the possibility that these are simply bits of editorial interlocking must be recognized. Furthermore, the fact that the list of Nehemiah 12: 37-38 covers the joint between our I and II indicates that II is actually, as it appears to be, the direct continuation of I. The relationship between 3: 1-32 and 12: 31 ff., to be sure, is a problem in itself. The similarities between the two are so great that they suggest the dependence of one upon the other. Both the *Tower of the Hundred* and the *Tower of Hananel* are named in both passages, though the former tower appears nowhere else. The *Yeshanah Gate* also, which is not mentioned elsewhere, appears in both 3 and 12. There are differences too, of course: 3 omits the *Ephraim Gate* and the *Gate of the Guard*, while 12 omits the *Valley Gate* and many minor points mentioned in 3. But there is reason to suspect that 3 may have originally included the *Ephraim Gate*, while it is possible that the *Gate of the Guard* belonged to the temple enclosure rather than to the city wall.⁷ The *Valley Gate* falls between the starting points of the two processions described in 12, and its omission is therefore not unnatural. As for the other points named in 3 but not in 12, they are of such minor importance that there was no occasion to mention them in 12. If one of the passages was composed (by the Chronicler?) on the basis of the other, it seems more likely that the account in 12 is the secondary one, but in that case I and II were already combined when they were used by the later writer. On the whole the most probable explanation of the similarities in the

⁷ V. i., p. 110 f.

two passages is that they both follow the actual course of the walls at some period. Consequently the joint between I and II in our passage is strengthened by the parallel in 12.

No one of the facts mentioned above as favoring the unity of our list is decisive in itself. Taken together, however, they make it seem distinctly probable that I and II are not separate lists but simply parts of one and the same account.

If this conclusion be accepted, the change of formula from *at his hand* to *after him* may be regarded as purely stylistic. The wavering noted just before and after the shift (xvi, xxiii, xxv) supports this supposition, for while it may be the result of subtle editorial jointing, as has already been said, a more natural explanation is that the writer, growing tired of the phrase he had been using with such monotonous regularity, introduced the other expression for variety, but then (being primarily a recorder rather than a literary artist) slipped into an equally monotonous repetition of his second formula.

Another possibility is that the recording of the enterprise was divided between two scribes, and that they are responsible for the two introductory formulae. If this suggestion can be taken seriously, it may also account for the difference between I and II with regard to the building of gates. As Professor Albright has pointed out,^{*} an attack on a city is naturally directed particularly against the gates, so that they are the greatest sufferers and are most in need of repair. The emphasis on the gates in I is therefore what we should expect. All the more remarkable is the absence of any reference to the rebuilding of a gate in II, unless the scribe who recorded the operations on this portion of the walls took for granted the repair of the gates as integral parts of the walls. Certainly we are not to suppose that the gates in II were not in need of repair, for the number of workers named indicates that this part of the wall was in very bad condition.

The true explanation of this surprising difference between I and II, however, is probably less simple than the rather naïve suggestion of two scribes with slightly different points of view. Perhaps some or all of the gates named in II were not in the city wall at all but were simply named as points of reference near it. In one case, at least, this seems distinctly probable. In Jeremiah 31: 40 the *Corner of the Horse Gate* is named along with the Kidron Valley as marking the eastern limit of the land which is to be added to Jerusalem in the future. This surely indicates a point in the outer wall, but the *Corner of the Horse Gate* may have been so named with reference to a

^{*}This observation was made orally during the discussion at the meeting of the American Oriental Society.

nearby gate in the temple enclosure. This is suggested, if not proved, by 2 Kings 11: 16 (2 Chronicles 23: 15), which says that Athaliah went from the temple to the palace by the way of the *Horses' Entry* (in Chronicles, *the Entry of the Horse Gate*). It would be possible to construe *בית המלך* here with *מבוא הסוסים* (*the horses' entry to the palace*), but more probably it goes with the verb, the meaning being that Athaliah went through the gate to the palace and was killed there. In fact, this is definitely stated in verse 20, though the Chronicler's parallel apparently means that the queen went to the *Horse Gate* and was killed there, and in accordance with this interpretation the words, *at the king's house*, are omitted in 2 Chronicles 23: 21. If we may assume that the *Horse Gate* referred to in 2 Kings is the same as that named in Nehemiah 3, it would seem that it led from the temple to the palace and therefore was not a gate in the city wall. It is introduced in Nehemiah by the preposition *above* (*מעל*).

The *Water Gate* (*to the East* (xxxiii)) is mentioned simply as the terminus of a portion of the wall, with the phrase *עַרְ נָגַר*, which may mean that the gate was "opposite" this point in the wall and at a little distance from it. In 12: 37, however, this gate occurs in such a way as to indicate distinctly that it was a point in the city wall. And where would a water gate be if not in the main wall of the city? In this case we can hardly doubt that the gate was one in the eastern wall and leading to the spring. That such a gate, however, would not be in need of repair is almost unbelievable, nor can we plausibly maintain that the writer merely wearied of his elaborate emphasis on the gates in I and left their rebuilding to be taken for granted in II. Unless we fall back on the hypothesis of two scribes, the lack of any mention of repairs on the *Water Gate to the East* remains a problem.

The *East Gate* (xxxvii) may or may not be the same as the *Water Gate to the East*: if not, there is nothing to indicate its location beyond the fact that it was the eastern entrance to something (city, temple, or palace). It is not given as a terminus but is mentioned simply to designate a man, "Shemaiah ben-Shekaniah, keeper of the East Gate."

The *Muster Gate* (xl), which is not mentioned elsewhere, might be anything or anywhere. It is introduced by the preposition *נָגַר*, the implication of which may have a bearing on our problem. Since this preposition is used in II, however, with several other terms and in various combinations, an examination of this question is postponed until we come to consider the special problems of II. Suffice it to say for the present that the expression is too ambiguous to decide the question now before us. Whether the *Muster Gate* was a part of the city wall or not we have no sure means of telling, but there is one fact which seems significant. Chapter 12 mentions all the gates

of I except the *Sheep Gate*, which apparently was either the starting point of the two processions or lay between their two starting points. Of the gates named in II, however, only the *Water Gate to the East* is mentioned in chapter 12. This fact strengthens the thesis that both the *Horse Gate* and the *Muster Gate* were temple or palace gates, not points in the outer wall. Further support is given by the fact, which will be demonstrated later, that other points similarly used in II were certainly not parts of the wall but nearby buildings or well known landmarks. That this was true of the *Horse Gate* also seems practically certain; in the case of the *Muster Gate* it is quite probable. Only the *Water Gate to the East*, with which the *East Gate* is probably identified, seems to have been a city gate like those named in I. These facts, to be sure, throw into still greater relief the absence of any indication that repairs were made on the *Water Gate*, but further consideration of this matter may well be deferred until we take up the peculiar difficulties of Part II.

However we may explain the differences between I and II, they apparently are not separate lists but parts of the same record. If this be true, the whole circuit of the walls is included, since II ends at the *Sheep Gate*, where I begins. Each part of the list, however, has its own peculiarities and problems, which must be discussed separately.

Problems of Part I.

In the first part the workers fall into six groups, corresponding to the six gates which are rebuilt. The portions dealing with the respective gates and groups are designated in the chart as A, B, C, etc. Now this division into groups explains the apparently incongruous suffixes in the introductory formula, *at his (or their) hand*. In each case the suffix refers to the leader of the group, not to the immediately preceding individual or series of individuals. In A, for example, the singular suffix is used throughout, referring to Eliashib. Similarly the plural suffix is used throughout B, and the reference is to the sons of Hassenaah. In C the plural suffixes of x, xiii, and xiv are explained by reference to the leaders of this group, Joiada ben-Paseah and Meshullam ben-Besodeiah. In xi, xii, xv, and xvii we find singular suffixes, which remain unexplained, but whatever we do with these four exceptions, it is worthy of note that the explanation here given accounts for seven of the nine cases in which the suffix does not agree with its immediate antecedent. Of the four instances which are left unexplained two (xi, xv) are incongruous both with their immediate antecedents and with those to which our explanation would refer them. In the other two cases (xii and xvii) the suffixes agree with their

immediate antecedents, so that here our explanation only raises a new difficulty. In groups D, E, and F the formula does not occur. The difficulties, therefore, are all in group C.

The fact that no assisting parties are named in groups D-F suggests that sections xi, xii, xvi, and xvii may be out of place, their original positions being under group E or group F, where a singular suffix would be called for. Comparison with chapter 12, however, shows that the order in which the gates are named in the present text is probably correct, so that we cannot shift the troublesome sections. Another possibility is suggested by chapter 12, where we find the *Ephraim Gate* named between the *Yeshanah Gate* and the *Broad Wall*. If we suppose that a section reading, "And the Ephraim Gate repaired N- . . .," has accidentally dropped out before xi, then the suffixes in xi, xii, and xv are now wrong, so that our loss is almost equal to our gain. The singular suffix in xvii still has to be explained, also. There seems to be no perceptible explanation for the suffixes which are not accounted for by the division into groups. If we must resort to emendation to bring them into line, we shall at any rate have only four instead of nine words to emend.

Since the gates and the adjacent portions of the wall are assigned to the builders by groups, the statement of the task is to be expected only once for each group, and the mention of a terminus only when the task includes a portion of the wall as well as a gate. This explains the fact that so many of the sections have no designation of task or terminus.

For the work of Group A, however, a double terminus is given. The syntax of the sentence also is, to say the least, peculiar. The repetition of the verb, *they consecrated it*, may be due to the need of a verb for the phrase, *and to the Tower of the Hundred*, but even so it leaves the second phrase, *to the Tower of Hananel*, hanging in mid air. If we read the verb with the latter phrase, we feel the absence of a conjunction and the fact that the preceding phrase is now without a verb, though the similar ellipsis in xviii shows that this is not impossible. We might, of course, transpose the two phrases to follow sections ii and iii respectively, but this would be hazardous. The repetition of the verb suggests a marginal gloss, but just how the text is to be restored it is difficult to determine. The elimination of one of the towers as due to dittography would be tempting if we did not have both of them in 12: 39. Perhaps the most likely explanation we can find is that the second phrase, *to the Tower of Hananel*, was interpolated under the influence of chapter 12. To be sure, a scribe who thus undertook to make the list complete might be expected to insert the *Gate of Ephraim* also at the appropriate place, but it is possible that the original text included the mention of that gate. In any case, the syntactical awkwardness and the logical difficulty of a double terminus show that something is wrong with the text as it stands.

In xx there is another double terminus if the phrase, *to the King's Garden*, refers to the limit of the task of group F. The preposition here, however, is not π but ל , which may mean "belonging to" and thus refer to the *Pool of Shelah*. This would be quite clear if the preposition were preceded by the relative pronoun, as in xxxii. In x the preposition ל apparently, though not certainly, refers to a terminus.

Most of the other textual problems in this and the following sections have little or no significance from the point of view of topography. The slight variations in wording in i, iv, ix and xviii-xx as regards the work done on the gates have suggested emendations to the commentators, but they are neither necessary nor important. The *Seat of the Satrap of Transflumen* in section x is an interesting but puzzling topographical item, which has exercised the ingenuity of the commentators. The best Greek manuscripts omit it, but its omission is more easily explained than its insertion. Hölscher interprets it as the judgment seat of the Syrian satrap and compares it with the praetorium of the Roman procurator. Attractive and plausible as this is, it does not help us to locate the building, if such it was. *Uzziel the son of Harhaia, goldsmiths* (xi), is no more intelligible in Hebrew than in English. No convincing emendation has been suggested, however, and since no topographical issue is at stake we may ignore the matter so far as our present purpose is concerned.

Far more serious is the problem raised by the final clause of xii. Much as we should like to know what Hananiah did to Jerusalem, the meaning of עֹב in this connection is quite obscure. In the study of Nehemiah 3: 33-37 referred to above I have discussed the meaning of this verb in verse 8 as well as in Sanballat's crytic taunt in verse 34 and have suggested as a possible clue the use of the verb 'db in Sabaean inscriptions in the sense, *to restore*.⁹ If the Hebrew verb will bear this meaning, its implication here is the very opposite of that presupposed by the prevailing interpretations, viz., that Jerusalem as far as the Broad Wall was 'left' unrepaired, or was 'left' outside of the new walls. It is quite possible, of course, that the text is corrupt, but if so we have no means of restoring it. In spite of all this uncertainty, however, we have no reason to doubt that the *Broad Wall* belongs here as a topographical item.

The mere statement of these difficulties, together with the problem of the

⁹ Prof. Speiser has called my attention to the Akkadian use of *esēbu* in the sense of "make out, complete, attend to the details of" a document, deed, etc., beside the meaning "leave." The rendering "complete, attend to," or the like would not be inappropriate in our passage. A term used in connection with clay tablets would not be altogether out of place when applied to walls, and the use of a Babylonian technical term at the time in question would scarcely be regarded as anomalous.

pronominal suffixes in these sections, shows that in Group C (if, indeed, it be one group) the state of the text is far from satisfactory. So far as we can infer anything from the parallels in chapter 12, the topographical points given occur in their proper order, but we can hardly draw far-reaching topographical inferences from a passage in which so much is obscure.

Attention may be drawn in passing to the occurrence in C of two expressions which are characteristic of Part II. The phrase, *and in front of his house* (xiv), and the expression, *a second portion* (xvi), both occur frequently in the second part of the list. Their appearance here may probably be regarded, like the wavering in the use of the introductory formulae in xxiii and xxv, as evidence that the two parts came from the same hand.

Groups D, E, and F offer no particular difficulties of the sort with which we are at present concerned. Such problems as they do present may be more conveniently discussed in connection with the topographical implications of the list.

Problems of Part II.

In Part II there is no such obvious grouping as in I. Since the grouping in I is determined by the gates which are repaired, there is doubtless some mysterious connection between the absence of grouping in these sections and the fact, already discussed but not explained, that no gates are said to have been repaired or rebuilt.

The use of the personal suffix with the introductory formula, which required explanation in I, is even more peculiar here. Regardless of any antecedent the singular suffix is used throughout. The only exceptions are sections xxxviii and xl (where the present text reads *אחרי*), xxxii (where the word is omitted altogether), and xxxv and xli (where different introductory words are used). I have been unable to discover any purpose or principle in this extraordinary usage, yet I can see no justification or basis for emendation. In xxviii *the priests, the men of the Circle*, and in xxxv *the priests* might be taken as editorial headings for the sections which follow, if the names in these sections were wholly or predominantly those of priests, but this does not seem to be the case. Mere interpolation of the plural nouns by the Chronicler (or some other editor with priestly leanings) is conceivable, and the deletion of the priests in xxviii and xxxv would remove the incongruity of the suffixes in xxix and xxxvi, but such treatment seems rather high-handed. Neither of the explanations just suggested, moreover, would help us in xxx and xxxix. Hölscher emends the suffixes in xxix, xxx, and xxxvi but not in xxxix, though there is no obvious reason for regarding the one as more acceptable than the other.

That the suffix does not always fit the antecedent becomes somewhat less

surprising when we note how often the antecedent itself involves an anomaly. The verb in xxii is plural, agreeing with the following noun, the Levites, but to this is added, without conjunction or verb or any indication of syntactic relationship, *Rehum ben-Bani*. Similarly in xxiv, after a plural verb and a plural subject (*their brethren*), we find, as though in apposition, the name of one man, *Bavvai ben-Henadad, the ruler of half the district of Keilah, for his district*. The last phrase, incidentally, is a puzzle in itself. Section xxv follows with a variation in the introductory formula; then comes xxvi in regular form except for the puzzling word החרה, which is commonly construed adverbially but may possibly be a variant of אחריו, due to a *Verh rsfehler*. A singular verb before a compound subject, as in xxix and xxxviii, is of course no anomaly in Hebrew. Section xxxii, however, has no verb at all, nor has xxxiii. The troublesome parenthetical clause in xxxiii is easily disposed of by a simple emendation, reading, instead of הוּ יושב (were living), the article with the plural participle, היושבים, so that in place of an irrelevant parenthesis we have the second member of a compound subject: *Pedaiah ben-Parosh and the Nethinim (who were) living in Ophel*.¹⁰ A third difficulty in xxxiii is the double terminus. There are other textual difficulties in these sections, but they are not important for our present purpose.

Double termini appear in xxxi (*to the Turn and to the Corner*), xxxiii (*to in front of the Water Gate to the East and the Tower That Projects*), and xl (*to the House of the Nethinim and the Merchants in front of the Muster Gate and to the Ascent of the Corner*), while xxi actually has a triple terminus (*to in front of the Tombs of David and to the Made Pool and to the House of the Heroes*). A possible way of accounting for these superfluous items is suggested by the fact that some of the other sections vary the formula by beginning with a phrase indicating the task performed. Thus Section xxxv begins, *Above the Horse Gate*, and xli begins, *And between the ascent of the Corner and the Sheep Gate*. It is conceivable therefore that our writer may have begun one or more sections with such a phrase as, *And to the House of the Heroes*. The most likely instance of this is in xxxi, *And to the Corner*. Since the following section has no אחריו and no statement of a terminus, it is possible to read, *And to the Corner (repaired) Palal ben-Uzai from in front of the Turn*, etc. This gives an entirely satisfactory meaning if the Turn is the real terminus of xxxi. The same meaning may be secured, with a somewhat more natural sentence, by transposing the phrase, *And to the corner*, to the end of xxxii, but this is a more radical expedient. The problem is com-

¹⁰ The emendation was suggested in an unpublished paper which I presented at the 1933 meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis.

plicated, of course, by the lack of a verb in xxxii, yet this in itself indicates that something has happened to the text. At any rate it seems fairly safe to assume that the *Corner* is properly the terminus of the work of Palal (xxxii) rather than of that of Binnui (xxxii).

The phrase, *And to the House of the Heroes* in xxi may be interpreted similarly, but the result is awkward and unconvincing unless we delete the introductory *after him* at the beginning of xxii. So too the second terminus of xxxiii, *and the Tower That Projects*, may be taken with xxxiv if we delete the introductory phrase. In this case we should also expect the particle וְ , since the noun is on this supposition the object of the following verb (cp. the regular usage in Part I). As regards the omission of *after him* in xxii and xxxiv, it is conceivable that a scribe who construed the expressions under discussion with the preceding clauses inserted the customary phrase at the beginning of the following clauses for the sake of regularity. In that case, however, we should have expected him to do the same in xxxii. On the whole it appears unlikely that in either of these instances the second terminus should be read with the section that follows.

In xxi, *And to the Made Pool*, and xl, *And to the ascent of the Corner*, such an interpretation is quite impossible. In the former case the next section does not follow immediately, and in the latter the section which follows presupposes the *Ascent of the Corner* as the terminus of xl. It is possible, however, that this second terminus is an interpolation which seemed to be required by the fact that xli begins at this point.

In brief, there seems to be no one explanation which can be applied to all the instances of double termini in II. Like the similar instance in the first section of Part I, they remain unexplained, with the probable exception of the *Corner* in xxxi, and perhaps also the *Ascent of the Corner* in xl.

The use of prepositions in these sections calls for some comment. Once only we have מִן (xxx). Much more frequent is בְּ , which appears both alone and in compounds. Now the fact that such a preposition is used at all seems to imply that the points with which it is used were not parts of the wall itself but nearby landmarks, convenient points of reference in the absence of gates or towers. We have already seen that on other grounds this appears to be true of the *Muster Gate* (xl).¹¹ It is certainly true of the *houses* mentioned in xxix, xxxv, and xxxvi, and the *chamber* in xxxix, for, while it is entirely possible that houses were built upon the wall as well as beside it, the picture given here is quite clearly that of men working on the portions of the wall opposite or in front of their own houses. The *Water Gate to the East*, how-

¹¹ V. s., p. 120 f.

ever, we found to be almost certainly a gate in the city wall, though it is introduced by the prepositional compound, עַד נִגַּר. The same two prepositions introduce the *Tombs of David* (xxi), which we can be quite sure were opposite the wall at this point, not in it. The compound preposition מִנִּגַּר is used before the following points: *the Ascent of the Armory* (xxv), *the Turn and the Tower That Projects from the Upper House of the King which (belongs) to the Court of the Guard* (xxxii), and *the Great Tower That Projects* (xxxiv). So far as their names indicate, any of these might be points in the wall; they might equally well, however, be alongside or near the wall, and this is distinctly more probable in the case of *the Tower That Projects from the Upper House of the King*—if this be the meaning of the terms. There are also several other points with which the simple prepositions *to* and *from* are used, but which are certainly not parts of the city wall: they are *the Made Pool* (xxi), *the door and the end of Eliashib's house* (xxvi, xxvii), and presumably also *the House of the Heroes* (xxi). It is noteworthy also that the *Turn*, which is introduced by מִנִּגַּר in xxxii, has only the simple עַד in xxxi. In xxv the *Turn* follows the *Ascent of the Armory* asyndetically; if it is in apposition with the latter, or if a conjunction connecting the two points has dropped out, then the *Turn* is here an object of the preposition מִנִּגַּר, as in xxxii. The Septuagint, however, inserts the preposition *to* before *the Turn*, making it a terminus instead of a starting point, and this is probably the correct reading, since the *Turn* is the starting point of the next section (with the simple preposition, *from*). Similarly *Azariah's house*, which is introduced by אֶצֶל in xxx, has the simple *from* in xxxi. The net result of all these observations is that neither the use nor the non-use of נִגַּר shows whether the point named is in the wall or near it, but also that some of the landmarks named in II are certainly not parts of the wall, and most of the others are probably not. The only points of which it seems definitely more probable that they are in the wall are the *Turn*, the *Corner*, the *Water Gate to the East*, the *Ascent of the Corner*, and the *Sheep Gate*. This result, even though not conclusively established, is of no little significance for the topographical implications of the list.

Before proceeding to discuss these implications we must consider one more peculiarity of Part II, viz., the use of the expression, *a second stretch*. In I we have already encountered this once (xvi); in II it occurs six times (xxv, xxvi, xxvii, xxxi, xxxiv, xxxviii).¹² The natural interpretation, other things being equal, would be that in each of these instances the party named repaired two

¹² The omission of the final ה in the last instance can hardly be other than accidental. It is quite possible that much more than one letter has been lost.

portions of the wall, this being the second. In three section (xxvii, xxxi, xxxiv) this is quite possible, since the parties here named have been mentioned before (in v, xxiv,¹³ and viii respectively). The first and third of these are in I and the second, which is not certain, in II. But in four of the sections where the expression is used (xvi, xxv, xxvi, xxxviii) the parties have not appeared before, while xxxix names a man who has already been mentioned (vi) but does not use the expression, a *second stretch*. Now שני is sometimes used adverbially, meaning *again*, and in view of the facts just given it seems natural to take it here as meaning simply *another*, like the Arabic *ṭānī*. Batten emphatically rejects this interpretation; the numeral, he says, means "*second and nothing else*."¹⁴ Hölscher lightly dismisses the difficulty, saying simply that the facts cited above show what gaps there are in our text.¹⁵ The makers of our standard English versions, however, have used the words *another* and *other* throughout, as they have in many other places where the Hebrew has שני.¹⁶ In these other places, to be sure, the word refers to the *other* of two things only, whereas here we must suppose that it means *another* in a series of several (especially in xxv, xxvi, and xxvii). In spite of this, however, the required meaning lies so close at hand that we may feel justified in taking the expression in this sense, with the sole qualification that the idea of *next* as well as *other* seems to be implied. If this be correct, then the fact that in three out of seven instances the parties have been named before must be little if anything more than a coincidence.

In general it must be acknowledged that both omissions and interpolations may have occurred in our list, and that they may be responsible for some of the difficulties discussed in the foregoing pages. With the exception of a few details, however, which will be noted as we come to them, I have been unable to work out this hypothesis in any way which seems to offer a plausible solution of our problem.

Topographical Implications.

Having, however incompletely, cleared the ground by our analysis of the text, we must now endeavor to determine as nearly as possible what our list

¹³ Assuming that *Bavai* should be read *Binnui*. So Batten and Hölscher, following Bertholet.

¹⁴ *Ezra-Nehemiah* (I. C. C.), pp. 212 ff.

¹⁵ Rashi makes the curious suggestion that the expression refers to the lower part of the wall, which shows that he is at least aware of the difficulty.

¹⁶ Luther too renders, *ein anderes* (not *ein zweites*) *Stück*.

implies as to the actual location and identity of the towers, gates, and other points named in it. Consideration of other passages in which the same items occur must be reserved for another occasion. For the present we shall ask only whether our list in itself enables us to determine definitely the location of any of the points mentioned, and whether there is any sure indication of the direction in which the list proceeds from point to point.

Nothing whatever is said to show us the location of the points named in Division A of Part I except the fact that the high priest and his brethren were the builders of the *Sheep Gate*, which was therefore probably (though not necessarily) somewhere near the temple. We should expect the *Fish Gate* (Division B) to be on the western or perhaps the northern side of the city, where the roads from the seacoast entered the city, but not much weight can be laid upon this supposition. Where to look for the *Yeshanah Gate*, the *Seat of the Governor of Transflumen*, the *Broad Wall*, and the *Tower of the Ovens* we are not told.

No other clue appears until we reach the *Valley Gate*, and the only inference we can draw from its name is that it was not in the northern wall. Even this is not entirely sure, for if the western hill or any part of it was enclosed at this time, the *Valley Gate* may have been in the northern wall at the point where it crossed the Tyropoean Valley. Whether this valley was ever called *הַגִּיחַ* (as it is now called *el-wād*) is a question that cannot here be discussed: there seems to be no passage where the term clearly refers to it, but I see no reason to rule out the possibility. The location of the *Dung Gate* is indicated only by the statement that a portion of the wall 1000 cubits long was repaired between it and the *Valley Gate*, and this, as we shall see, is not a reliable figure.

The *Fountain Gate* must surely have been near a source of water, which narrows the possibilities considerably, but whether the *fountain* after which the gate was named was the spring on the eastern side of the southeastern hill or the opening of the Siloam tunnel on the western side is not to be deduced from the name. The *Pool of Shelah* must have been in one of the valleys, but for its identification we are dependent upon other passages; there is nothing in the name or in its context here to direct us. The *King's Garden* also was probably in one of the valleys: it may have lain in the Tyropoean near its southern end, in the broad open space where the Valley of Hinnom unites with the Kidron Valley, or in the lower portion of the Kidron. The *Stairs Descending from the City of David* may have been on either the eastern or the western side of the hill or at its southern extremity. At any rate we are now somewhere near the southern end of the southeastern hill. The *Made*

Pool was probably in this vicinity also, though the very fact that it was 'made' warns us against taking too much for granted. The *Tombs of David* have been sought so long in vain that we need not even pause to inquire about them. There is nothing to suggest the location of the *House of the Heroes* nor of the *Ascent of the Armory*, and the *Turn and Corner* may have been at any point where there was a bend in the wall. The houses of Eliashib, of Benjamin and Hashshub, and of Azariah must have been nearby, but nothing further is known of their location. We cannot even assume that Eliashib lived near the temple. The *Tower That Projects* (if this is a proper name and refers always to the same tower), the *Upper House of the King*, and the *Court of the Guard* are connected, but there is nothing to show the location of any of them, unless we adopt the suggestion that the *Upper House of the King* was so named to distinguish it from another royal dwelling which lay in a lower position,¹⁷ in which case we should look for it near the northern end of the southeastern hill, if not on the temple hill. So far as the data thus far noted are concerned, to be sure, this palace and the adjoining tower and court might be on the western hill, but the *Water Gate to the East*, which immediately follows, shows definitely that we are now on the eastern side of the southeastern hill and therefore moving northward. This means, however, that the *Water Gate to the East* can hardly be directly above the spring; it must be somewhat farther north, perhaps, as Mitchell long ago suggested,¹⁸ near the point where today the northerly path from the spring meets the paths coming down from the southeast corner of the present wall and from the so-called Dung Gate or Gate of David.

The direction in which the list proceeds, then, is counter-clockwise. This is no new discovery. Previous discussions of our passage have commonly assumed it without discussion. But they have also commonly assumed much that is by no means so certain; it is worth while, therefore, to emphasize this as the most solid basis we have for reconstructing the topography implied by our list. And since we have found reason to believe that Part II is in fact, as in appearance, a direct continuation of Part I, we can now safely conclude that the points named in Part I also are given in a counter-clockwise direction, which means that they must approach the southern end of the southeastern

¹⁷ So Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 260, who identifies the lower palace with the House of David mentioned in 12: 37.

¹⁸ *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1903, p. 126. Mitchell's article was a very thorough and scholarly piece of work. Only the assumption that Nehemiah's gates had some connection with those discovered by Bliss prevented Mitchell's results from being satisfactory.

hill from the west or north, depending upon the inclusion or exclusion of the southwestern hill.

The results of our inquiry thus far may now be shown graphically. To avoid all undue presuppositions or prejudice the course of the walls may be represented by a circle, which we may divide (as nearly as the number will allow) into forty-one parts, according to the forty-one sections of our list. It is not to be supposed, of course, that these sections indicate exactly equal portions of the wall; we may fairly assume, however, that they did not differ very greatly in most cases, and that an equal division will roughly and in the large correspond sufficiently to the facts. Verse 13, it is true, says that there were 1000 cubits between the *Valley Gate* and the *Dung Gate*. Now the circumference of the walls would be, at a rough estimate, about 8000 cubits if the western hill was enclosed and about 6000 if it was not.¹⁹ This would make the average length of the sections about 200 cubits or about 100 metres in the former case and about 150 cubits or 75 metres in the latter case. Neither figure seems improbable. The 1000 cubits of verse 13, however, appear remarkable, to say the least. Either the sections were decidedly uneven in length or the figure given in the text is open to doubt. Even the fact that Hanun had the inhabitants of Zanoah to help him does not make it plausible that his task would comprise a sixth or an eighth of the wall in addition to a gate! Since, moreover, no other figures of the sort are given in the list, we must regard it as almost certain that the text is here corrupt. All calculations based upon the distance stated are therefore unreliable.

Having ascertained that the *Water Gate on the East*, which is named as the terminus of section xxxiii, was in the northern portion of the eastern wall, we may place the number xxxiii in one of the upper right-hand sectors of our circle and from there on number the other sectors consecutively, proceeding counter-clockwise. Sector number xli will then come at about a fifth of the way around the circle, and number i will follow it. Marking the *Water Gate to the East* at xxxiii, the *Sheep Gate* at i, and the other gates at their respective places according to the sections of the list in which they are named, we obtain the result shown (eliminating all details except the names of the gates) in Fig. 1. The *Horse Gate* and the *Muster Gate* are here omitted, because we have found that they were probably gates of the temple enclosure rather than the city wall.

Consideration of this figure reveals several significant facts. The *Fish Gate* and the *Yeshanah Gate* appear at approximately equal intervals between

¹⁹ Somewhat more exact figures would be about 8300 and 5600 respectively, but in our ignorance of the actual course followed by the walls we cannot claim more than a rough approximation for any estimate.

the *Sheep Gate* and the *Valley Gate*, which is near the most southerly point of the circle. Just to the east is the *Dung Gate* and after that the *Fountain Gate*. With this in section xx are the *Wall of the Pool of Shelah*, the *King's Garden*, and the *Stairs Descending from the City of David*. If their position in the circle corresponds to their actual location, these must all have been in the Kidron rather than the Tyropoean Valley, and in that case the *Pool of Shelah* was not where the present Pool of Siloam lies, nor was the *Fountain Gate* connected with the outlet of the Siloam tunnel. It is quite possible, however, that we have placed the *Water Gate* too far north, or that the part of the wall included in sections xxi-xxxiii was somewhat longer than that covered by the other sections.

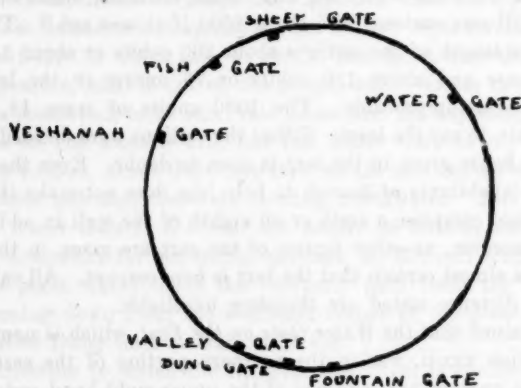


Fig. 1.

Conceivably, indeed, the sections of Part II might have corresponded more nearly to the Groups than to the sections of I, so that the *Fountain Gate* would lie much nearer to the *Sheep Gate* than our figure indicates. If the circle be divided on this supposition, however, into twenty-seven instead of forty-one parts, the improbability of such an arrangement at once becomes evident, for all the gates except the *Water Gate* are then huddled together in the western quarter of the wall.

Whatever may have been the exact location of these gates, the figure shows plainly that the whole eastern wall is without a gate until we come to the *Water Gate*. And when we consider the nature of the country to the east and southeast of Jerusalem, together with the fact that the slope of the hill on this side was undoubtedly much steeper at that time than it is now, the

suspicion grows upon us that there actually were no gates on this side except the one affording access to the spring. If this gate was as far north as we have found reason to suppose, it can hardly have been the one by which water was commonly brought for the people living on the southern part of the hill, but for them there was the *Fountain Gate*, leading either to the spring from the south or to the outlet of the tunnel on the other side of the hill. The fact that no repairs are said to have been made on the *Water Gate* has still to be accounted for; if the attack on the city, however, was made from the other side, and the need of repairs on the eastern wall was due to neglect or to dismantling after the capture of the city, this gate may not have suffered so much as did those on the north and west. In this connection it is interesting to recall that when Zedekiah attempted to escape from the besieged city, he slipped out through a gate that was "by the king's garden," fled "by the way of the Arabah," and was overtaken "in the plains of Jericho" (2 Kings 25: 4 f.).

In accord with the general location here assigned to the *Water Gate* is the fact that the *Horse Gate* (which, as we have seen, probably led from the temple to the palace) appears in the second section after the one whose terminus is the *Water Gate*. The only other gate mentioned in the sections between the *Water Gate* and the *Sheep Gate* is the *Muster Gate*, and this too we have found to be quite possibly a part of the temple enclosure. Section xxxiv, immediately after the one which ends with the *Water Gate to the East*, begins with the *Great Tower That Projects* and ends with the *Wall of the Ophel*. What this wall was we can only conjecture; the name may refer to the portion of the outer wall which began at this point, or it may mean an inner wall which here abutted on the outer wall. In the latter case it may indicate the wall which crossed the eastern hill between the temple and the city; possibly the *Horse Gate* was in this wall, but of that we cannot be sure. Except for the *Ascent* (or *Upper Chamber?*) of the *Corner*, the remaining points mentioned in these sections are houses, including those of the priests and the *chamber of Meshullam*.

The results of this division by sections for the actual location of the gates are rather interesting. Too much significance must not be attached to them, to be sure. That the list in its original form included exactly forty-one sections we cannot safely assume, nor is it by any means certain that the sections were even approximately equal in length. Under the circumstances, moreover, our measurements are not exact. Only in a very rough way can these results be regarded as pointing to the actual site of any particular gate. For what they are worth, however, they are here presented.

Fig. 2 shows where the gates appear if the western hill be included and the walls be divided into forty-one equal portions. The line of the walls here

follows the topographical map given at the end of Dalman's *Jerusalem und sein Gelände*. The *Sheep Gate* and the *Fish Gate* in our figure are only a little west of the locations assigned to them by Dalman, who places the *Muster Gate* (identified with the *Gate of the Guard*, Neh. 12: 39) at the southeastern corner, the *East Gate* (distinguished from the *Water Gate to the East*) somewhat south of it in the eastern wall, and the *Horse Gate* a little north of the point assigned in our figure to the *Water Gate*, which is placed a bit farther south. The *Yeshanah Gate* in the figure is almost exactly at the point where



Fig. 2.

Dalman puts the *Corner Gate*.²⁰ At this corner he also puts the *Tower of Ovens*, which according to our figure would come just before the *Valley Gate*. Dalman identifies the *Yeshanah Gate* with the *First Gate* (Zc. 14: 10), the *Middle Gate* (Jer. 39: 3), the *Ephraim Gate* (Neh. 8: 16, 12: 39; 2 Kings 14: 13 — 2 Chr. 25: 23), and the *Gennath Gate* of Josephus.²¹ He locates it at the angle marked (a) in our figure. The *Valley Gate*, however, is placed by Dalman at about the point where the figure shows the *Fountain Gate*; the *Dung Gate* is placed at the southeastern corner of the walls, and the *Fountain Gate* across the mouth of the Tyropoean from it, at the southern end of the southeastern hill. On all these points Fischer²² follows Dalman, whose conclusions are of course supported by weighty arguments drawn from all available

²⁰ 2 K 14: 13 (2 Chr 25: 23), 2 Chr 26: 9, Jer 31: 38, Zc 14: 10.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 236.

²² *Op. cit.*, pp. 254 ff.

data. In view of the admittedly inexact nature of our calculations and the uncertainty of the premises on which they rest, it must be acknowledged that the sites chosen by Dalman, except for the *Horse Gate* and *Muster Gate*, are quite compatible with the implications of our list, provided we admit that the western hill was included in the walls. That question I do not propose to discuss here, since I see no basis in our passage for deciding it.

The line of the walls shown in fig. 3 is that proposed by Galling²³ as a modification of the plan of Alt.²⁴ It is presented here because it shows an



Fig. 3.

interesting intermediate possibility between the complete exclusion and the complete or nearly complete inclusion of the western hill. But Galling's location of the gates is very different from that of our figure. At about the point where we have placed the *Water Gate* he places the *Horse Gate*, which we have taken out of the city wall altogether. Consequently the *Water Gate* is placed farther south, about opposite the point where the *Valley Gate* appears in our figure. The *Muster Gate* is located in the eastern wall, and the *Sheep Gate* appears a little west of the point assigned to it in our figure. The *Fish Gate* is identified with the *Corner Gate* and placed at the northwest corner. Consequently the *Yeshanah Gate* is somewhat farther south than the place where our figure shows it. The *Valley Gate*, which Galling (following Alt) identifies with Crowfoot's Tyropoean gate, comes about where the *Dung Gate* is in the figure; the *Dung Gate* is placed at the southern end of the hill,

²³ *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins*, 1931, pp. 85 ff.

²⁴ *Palästina Jahrbuch*, 1928, pp. 74-78.

and the *Fountain Gate* in the eastern wall above the spring. The changes required to reconcile this scheme with the results of our inquiry are the elimination of the *Horse Gate* and the *Muster Gate*, the increasing of the distance between the *Fountain Gate* and the *Water Gate*, and some re-spacing of the remaining gates. There is nothing so radically incompatible with the implications of our list as to rule out altogether Galling's theory as to the area included in the walls. His conception of the *Broad Wall*, however, as being the curved wall crossing the Tyropoean (just above the *Valley Gate* in our figure) requires modification in view of the fact that five sections of the list intervene between the *Broad Wall* and the *Valley Gate*, unless we are to

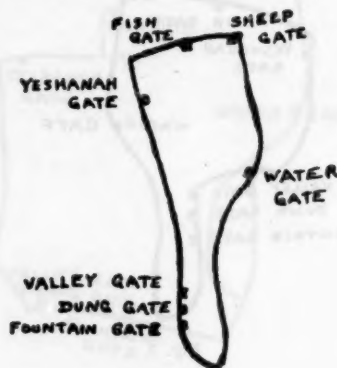


Fig. 4.

interpret the terminus of section xii as the beginning of the *Broad Wall* and suppose that the rest of it was included in the following five sections. Such an interpretation, while possible, is decidedly doubtful.

In fig. 4 the positions of the gates are shown as they appear if the eastern hill alone is included and the walls are again divided into forty-one equal parts. The reduction in the total circumference brings the *Valley Gate*, *Dung Gate*, and *Fountain Gate* very close together. The part of the hill where they are grouped, however, must have been the center of the city if the eastern hill only was included, and the approaches to the city from north, south, and west must have been by way of the Tyropoean Valley, on which these gates open. It is possible also that the portions of the wall included in sections xviii and xix were above the average in length; if this can be fairly postulated, the *Valley Gate* may have been somewhat farther north than it is here shown, and Alt and Galling may be right in identifying it with Crowfoot's gate.

Only a very slight change in the position of the *Fountain Gate* is required to bring it just above the opening of the Siloam tunnel. On the whole this seems to me to be the most probable application of the results of our inquiry.²⁵ It is by no means so certain, however, as to exclude the possibility that Crowfoot's gate was, as Albright maintains,²⁶ the *Dung Gate*. Indeed, as has been stated above, so far as the implications of our passage go the view that the western hill was already enclosed in the walls is entirely within the bounds of possibility.

The location of most of the points mentioned in the list between the gates does not call for much further comment. The *Tower of the Hundred* and the *Tower of Hananel* must have been near the *Sheep Gate*, presumably to the west, and therefore somewhere in the northern wall of the temple area. So far as our passage is concerned, we might suppose that the gate was in the middle of Eliashib's portion and that he and his associates repaired the wall on either side as far as the *Tower of the Hundred* in one direction and the *Tower of Hananel* in the other. This would give us a neat explanation of the perplexing double terminus; the parallel in chapter 12, however, makes it impossible unless we suppose that the writer of that passage followed our list and misinterpreted it, which would imply that he was unacquainted with Jerusalem himself or that these towers had ceased to exist in his day.

The *Seat of the Governor of Transflumen* is named in the next section after the *Yeshanah Gate*, i. e., one-ninth of the way from that gate to the next. This places it at or near the northwestern corner in fig. 2 and in the northern part of the western side of the city in figs. 3 and 4.

If, as we have seen some reason to suspect, the *Ephraim Gate* was originally mentioned in section xi, it must have been in the western wall according to any of these plans. The space between the *Yeshanah Gate* and the *Valley Gate* is long enough in all three figures to leave room for another gate. The name of the *Ephraim Gate*, however, has naturally led almost all of the commentators to assume that it was in the northern wall. If the western hill was within the walls, this was probably true. If the eastern hill only was enclosed, the gate may have led not from the temple area but from the city toward the north and therefore may have been south of the *Yeshanah Gate* in the western wall, but it would have to be farther to the south than section xi would come in fig. 4. Topographical consideration, therefore, do not support the theory that the *Ephraim Gate* has fallen out of our list.

The *Tower of the Ovens* (xvi) would be near the southeastern corner in

²⁵ I must admit that my preference is based on other grounds than those afforded by our passage in itself.

²⁶ *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1930, p. 167.

fig. 2, a fitting site if its name may be connected with the fires of Gehinnom. Incidentally, the traditional notion that refuse was burned in this valley would accord well with the location of the *Dung Gate* also in this figure. In figs. 3 and 4 the *Tower of the Ovens* would be near the northwestern corner of the southeastern hill. No strong argument either for or against this location is suggested by the name or by the context.

The *Pool of Shelah* is near the traditional *Pool of Siloam* in figs. 3 and 4 but far from it in fig. 2, being in the same section with the *Fountain Gate* (xxi). With it goes the *King's Garden*. In the same section also are the *Stairs Descending from the City of David*, which are far indeed from any plausible location in fig. 2, the *City of David* being certainly on the southeastern hill. We have already noted, however, that some elasticity in the lengths of the sections must be allowed for, so that Dalman's location of these points at almost the same places where our figs. 3 and 4 would place them cannot be regarded as inadmissible.

The *Tombs of David*, the *Made Pool*, and the *House of the Heroes* (xxi) may be fitted without obvious incongruity into any of our figures. The same may be said of the *Ascent of the Armory* in xxv, but the *Turn* in this section seems to imply a bend in the wall, if not a sharp breaking off.²⁷ As we have already seen, the preposition *to* should be inserted before the *Turn*, making it the terminus of this section.²⁸ It appears again in xxxi-xxxii. With it is named the *Corner* (probably, we have noted, as the starting point of xxxii in the original text). As the list stands, there are six sections between the two points to which the term *Turn* is applied; consequently we cannot make the two one without some rearrangement (or far-fetched interpretation) of the text. In 2 Chr. 26: 9, however, the *Turn* is mentioned as a single and well-known place in conjunction with the *Corner Gate* and the *Valley Gate*.

Bearing in mind, therefore, that the duplication and wide separation in our list may be due to corruption of the text, we cannot attach much significance to the location of these points in our figures, yet the facts are sufficiently interesting to deserve a brief presentation. Five sections intervene between the *Fountain Gate* and the first *Turn*. On fig. 2 this locates the first *Turn* almost, if not exactly, at the southeastern corner of the walls, which fits the name very nicely. Six more sections (xxvi-xxxi) bring us to the point where in our figure (following Dalman) the outer wall bends sharply inward to meet the wall encompassing the southeastern hill on the west. Dalman himself

²⁷ The word *Turn* is not a fortunate translation of שפס, the root-meaning of which is *cut off place*. Perhaps *Angle* would be better, the term *Corner* being reserved for זנע.

²⁸ The possible alternative that its occurrence here has led to the insertion of the term as a gloss at the end of xxv should be noted in passing.

puts here both the *Turn* of xxv-xxvi and that of xxxi-xxxii, as well as the *Corner*, ignoring the number of sections between these points.²⁹ Of course the singular neatness with which the two *Turns* fall in appropriate places is the result of measuring from the quite inappropriate location of the *Fountain Gate* in fig. 2. If it be located near the southern end of the southeastern hill, the first *Turn* will then be very near to the point where Dalman puts it; the juncture of the two walls, however, will then be too near to serve as the second *Turn*.

In fig. 3 five sections from the *Fountain Gate* bring us almost exactly to the sharp point at the southern end of the southeastern hill. No more appropriate place for the *Turn* could be asked. Six sections more bring us again almost exactly to the place of Dalman's first *Turn* (not shown in this figure nor in Gallings's own plan, which, however, has an angle at about this place that might serve as well). Gallings, to be sure, places the *Water Gate* too far south to be in accord with this happy result, but that difficulty is obviated when we eliminate his *Horse Gate* and *Muster Gate* and shift the *Water Gate* northward. To be sure, we are again assuming that the *Fountain Gate* belongs where it appears in the figure. At the same time it is not to be forgotten that the average is more significant than any single item in these calculations, since it is only the average length of the sections which can be regarded as at all constant.

Five sections from the *Fountain Gate* in fig. 4 would place the first *Turn* at a point somewhat north of the southern end of the hill, while six more would place the second near or a little beyond the place of Dalman's *Turn*. What course the wall followed at the former point is not known. The configuration of the hill is such as to make a bend in the wall at about this place not at all improbable, but it would certainly not be as sharp as the corner at the extremity of the hill. The result of these measurements, therefore, so far as we can consider it at all significant, is unfavorable to the hypothesis represented by fig. 4. To all the other uncertainties of the case, however, must be added the question whether we have been right in assuming that the term *cut off place* implies a bend in the wall. Comparison with the cognate noun in Arabic, to say nothing of other derivatives of the same root, shows that many other meanings are equally possible.

Wherever we place the second *Turn*, the *Corner* immediately follows it. What particular corner is indicated we can only guess. The name appears again at a distance of ten sections in the *Ascent* (or *Upper Chamber*) of the *Corner* (xl-xli), just before the *Sheep Gate*. Whether this was in fact an

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 131 f.

Ascent or an *Upper Chamber* (i.e., whether the original text read עליו or עליה), it was doubtless located at the northeastern corner of the walls, since in all our figures the *Sheep Gate* is not far beyond this corner. The *Corner* of section xxxi, however, must have been near the *Water Gate* and south of it.

The problem of the *Tower That Projects* is an extremely complicated one, but we have seen that this tower (if, as seems probable, there was only one so called) was in all likelihood no part of the city wall. It may therefore be reserved for future discussion. The *Wall of Ophel* and the other points mentioned in the rest of the list have already received as much attention as our present purpose requires.

SUMMARY

The main results of our inquiry may be briefly recapitulated. First of all must be stressed the bewildering ambiguity—one would like to say 'multi-guity'—of almost every item in the account. Evidently assuming that his readers were acquainted with the points named, the writer has neglected to give us sufficient data for locating exactly any one of them. The necessary corollary of this is that any proposed identification of a gate or tower or the like which has been uncovered can be accepted only with considerable reservations.

The *Water Gate to the East* can be more nearly located than any other point, and from it we can calculate in a very rough way the vicinity in which the other points are to be sought, but only when we have determined on other grounds what areas were included in the city walls. Since we have no sure means of dating our list, this leaves us in a quandary from which we might not be delivered even by an accurate knowledge of the history of the walls, especially if it should appear that the western hill was included at the time of the Chronicler but not at the time of Nehemiah.

The only portion of the walls with which we can operate at all confidently is the eastern wall. Here we have found that several points heretofore regarded as parts of the wall were probably merely points of reference. The implication that we have only one gate in the whole extent of the eastern wall is by no means impossible historically.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Professor J. A. Montgomery has kindly called my attention to an interesting parallel to our list in an inscription recording the building and roofing of the sanctuary of 'Attar of Dbn (CIS iv, no. 434). I wish to express here my appreciation of this favor, even though I have not been able to find in the inscription any help in the interpretation of the list in Neh. 3. I must acknowledge also my gratitude to Dr. Zellig S. Harris for the beautiful copy of the chart (Plate 1) which he prepared for reproduction.

AN ARAMAIC INCANTATION

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The inscription under consideration, no. 9737 of the Iraq Museum catalogue,¹ is written spirally on the inside surface of a clay bowl, which measures 13.5 cm. across the rim and is 5 cm. high. It is composed in Babylonian Aramaic and dates roughly from the seventh century A. D. Its provenience is not known.

The practice of exorcising a demoness by serving a bill of divorce on her is already familiar from a group of five inscriptions that are parallel, in large measure, to the present one. The first of these texts was published by Ellis in Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, London, 1853, p. 513; the second is a Mandaic charm in Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, vol. I, Giessen, 1902, pp. 102-104; the third and fourth are texts 11 and 18 in Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, Philadelphia, 1913; and the fifth is text G of a series of Aramaic incantations which I am publishing elsewhere.²

In the following, restorations are bracketed; additions in translating, line numbers and other reader's aids, parenthesized. Uncertain letters are marked with an inferior point. Scribal omissions are supplied within < >, scribal plusses within { }.

Text

אשיכן לישמך על בוריון בת מחיא על איסור (2) כגרינא (1) מלכון
דריוא ושליטא רבה דל<י> ליחא אשבעית (3) עלכי חבלם ליליחא בת כרתה
ך <ו> רני לילי<לי> תא דשריא על (4) אסכופת ביתה דמחישו בת דודי
{1} מחיא וסרפא דרתקי ודרתקתא מר (5) מיצי ומר מציתא אשבעית עלכי
דתמתן בטפרס ל<ל> בכי וכמראנית<י> ה דקתרום גוברא הא כתבית (6) ליכי
ו-א והא תארכית יאחכי כמא דכתבין שידי גיטא לנש<י> חון ותיב לא חררי
ושקוליי (7) גטכי וקבליי מומחכי וקרחי ועקירי ופוקי מן ביתה ומן גופה
דמחישו בת דודי בשום רת מחץ מחץ מחץ (8) שם מפורש מיששית ימ<י>
בר <א> ש<י> ת הלוליה (!) לישמך הלוליה למלכותך צבירת צבירת יודנא
יורבא צבירת צבירת יודנא (9) יורבא לישמך אני עש<י> תי אמן.

¹ Published with the kind permission of Dr. Julius Jordan, Director of the Iraq Museum.

² Texts A-F appear in an article entitled "Aramaic Incantation Bowls in the Istanbul and Baghdad Museums," *Archiv Orientalni*, VI (1934), pp. 319-334 (with 6 plates of autographed texts). Text G is called 'An Aramaic Exorcism' and will appear presently.

Translation

Upset are the curses upon Burzîn, the daughter of The Smiter. For the binding (2) of Bagdinâ, the king of the devil(s) and the great ruler of the liliths. I adjure (3) thee, O Lilith Hablas, the granddaughter of Lilith Zarnâi, who dwellest on the (4) threshold of the house of Mehišâi, the daughter of Dôdâi, who smitest and burnest boys and girls. Mâr (5) Mišî and Mâr Mešîta. I adjure thee that thou be smitten in the membrane of thy heart and with the lance of Qatrôs, the mighty. Lo I have written (a divorce) (6) for thee and lo I have expelled thee, as the demons write divorce(s) to their wives and again they do not return. Take (7) thy divorce and receive thine oath and flee and take flight and get out of the house and body of Mehišâi, the daughter of Dôdâi. In the name of RT MĤŠ MĤŠ MĤŠ, (8) the Ineffable Name from the six days of creation. Hallelujah unto Thy name. Hallelujah unto Thy kingdom. ŠBYRT ŠBYRT YWDG' YWDB' ŠBYRT ŠBYRT YWDG' (9) YWDB'. For Thy name I have acted. Amen.

Notes

1. בורזין בת מחיא : Burzîn, as a masculine proper name, is cited by Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895, p. 74a. Here, however, it is feminine (unless בת be an error for בר). It seems that Burzîn is the arch-enemy of Mehišâi (for whose protection the bowl is inscribed), and the curses that the former directed against the latter are ordered back to their sender; cf. l. 8 of text C. The mother's name, 'The Smiter' (in l. 4, the epithet of the lilith) is apparently used here in contempt and is hardly her actual name.

2. כנרינא : in Ellis and Montgomery. כנרנא ; in Lidzbarski, אכנורנא ; in G, כנורנא.

רן (ו) מלכין : The possessive suffix, 3 masc. pl., in these texts, is generally רון. ריוא : pl. in א. Cp. רשירי וריוא (text G, l. 3) 'of the demons and devil(s)'. See also נישא, in l. 6, which is paralleled by normally spelled plurals in all but Mont. 18. These plurals in א recall Syriac orthography.

רבה : As will be observed by glancing through the present inscription, post-positive â is usually א, and not ה, in these incantations.

3. חבלס : tallies with the form in G, against חבסלס in Ellis, חלראס in Lidz., חלכס in Mont. 11 and בחלכס in Mont. 18.

רני <ו> : For the restoration and reading, cp. דורנאי in G, l. 3.

לילי(ל)חא : The corruption may be intentional; cp. ליליחא(חא) in the parallel, G, l. 3.

4. דודי (כת) מחישי : feminine proper names with the hypocoristic suffix -âi. The mother's name, דודי, occurs in Mont. 15:3.

אסרפא (ו) מחישי : For other epithets of the lilith, see the parallel texts.

דדחקי ודרהקתא : In both cases ח is dissimilated from ד.

מר מיצי ומר מציחא : Paralleled in G (see writer's note there) and Mont. 18.

5. טפרס (ב) טפרס : This form and the obviously corrupt parallels must equal the Talmudic טרפשא (א); see Jastrow, *Dictionary*, p. 557b.

טורניחא : וכמראנית <י> is the usual spelling. Note that in this inscription, â is occasionally indicated by א in the middle of a word; cp. תארכית יאחכי, in the next line.

6. ווא ווא : After writing ווא faultily, without erasing, the scribe re-wrote the word. In these texts, it is almost a rule to rewrite errors without erasing.

7. רח טחץ ונו' : magical words of unknown meaning.

8. צוכיכת : The parallel in Lidz. is צוכיכת.

9. לישמך אני עש <י> חי : As often in these inscriptions, the magician acts in the name of the Lord, enhancing the efficacy of the charm.

אפיכץ לוטרמא על בורזין
בת מחיית על אימור² כ.ד.י.א
ומילכץ ד.די.א נשלימא רבך
לליתא אשכעית³ על כי ~~אשכעית~~
ליליתא בת דרתת ידדי לוליתא
דשריא על⁴ אטפונת ביתה
דלחיתיו בת דודי ומחיא⁵ וסרנא
לדרתקי ודרתקמא מר מניצ
ומד רעליתא אשעעית עלכי
דתני חץ בבורם ללכדי וכךלא לותח
דקתריום גיבוא מא כתבית ליכיופא
ומא תאדכית יאתני כליא דכתבין
עוילי היטא לונחין ותוב וא
חדדן ונאקולי⁶ גבוכי וקבלי מולחפי
וקריי ועקילי ופיקי מן ביוח ומן
גיבא דלחישוי בת דניי נשום דת
מחץ מהץ להץ⁷ נום מלחץ
מיששית ותבדשת חללח לישמעל
מלחיה לרעלכותן ככרות צביות
וודגא ידבא צביות צניות יודגא
י"ד נא לינוכץ אני עשתי אמין⁸

<p>1. The first part of the report is a general statement of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>2. The second part of the report is a detailed account of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>3. The third part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>(1)</p>
<p>4. The fourth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>5. The fifth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>6. The sixth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>(2)</p>
<p>7. The seventh part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>8. The eighth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>9. The ninth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>(3)</p>
<p>10. The tenth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>11. The eleventh part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>12. The twelfth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>(4)</p>
<p>13. The thirteenth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>14. The fourteenth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>15. The fifteenth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>(5)</p>
<p>16. The sixteenth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>17. The seventeenth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>18. The eighteenth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>(6)</p>
<p>19. The nineteenth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>20. The twentieth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>21. The twenty-first part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>(7)</p>
<p>22. The twenty-second part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>23. The twenty-third part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>24. The twenty-fourth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>(8)</p>
<p>25. The twenty-fifth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>26. The twenty-sixth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>27. The twenty-seventh part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>(9)</p>
<p>28. The twenty-eighth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>29. The twenty-ninth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>30. The thirtieth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>(10)</p>
<p>31. The thirty-first part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>32. The thirty-second part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>33. The thirty-third part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>(11)</p>
<p>34. The thirty-fourth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>35. The thirty-fifth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>36. The thirty-sixth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>(12)</p>
<p>37. The thirty-seventh part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>38. The thirty-eighth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>39. The thirty-ninth part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.</p>	<p>(13)</p>

עד נגד קברי דוד ועד הברכה העשויה ועד בית הגברים		אחריו החזיק נחמיה בן-עזבוק שר חצי פלך בית-צור ⁶⁴ (ווא)
		אחריו החזיקו הלויס רחום בן-בני ⁶⁵ (וואא)
		על-ידו החזיק חשביה שר-חצי-פלך קעילה לפלכו ⁶⁶ (וואא)
		אחריו החזיקו אחיהם בוי בן-חננד שר-חצי-פלך קעילה ⁶⁷ (וואא)
	מדה שנית מנגד עלת הנשק המקצוע	נחזק על-ידו עזר בן-ישוע שר המצפה ⁶⁸ (וואא)
עד-כפפה בית מלשונ הכהן הגדול	מדה שנית חן-המקצוע	אחריו חחרה החזיק ברוך בן-ובי ⁶⁹ (וואא)
ועד-תבלית בית מלישיב	מדה שנית מפתח בית מלישיב	אחריו החזיק מרמות בן-אוריה בן-הקוף ⁷⁰ (וואא)
		ואחריו החזיקו הכהנים אנשי הסכר ⁷¹ (וואא)
	נגד ביתם	ואחריו החזיק בנימין וחשיב ⁷² (וואא)
	אצל ביתו	אחריו החזיק עזריה בן-מעשיה בן-ענניה ⁷³ (וואא)
עד המקצוע ועד הכנה	מדה שנית מבית עזריה	אחריו החזיק בנוי בן-חננד ⁷⁴ (וואא)
	מנגד המקצוע והסגל היוצא מבית המלך העליון ואר לחצר המשרה	פלל בן-אזוי ⁷⁵ (וואא)
עד נגד שער הסם למזרח והסגל הצבא		אחריו פדיה בן-פרעס והנתנים חז ישיבים בעפל ⁷⁶ (וואא)
ועד חומת העפל	מדה שנית מנגד הסגל הגדול היוצא	אחריו החזיקו התקעים ⁷⁷ (וואא)
	מעל שער הסוסים ⁷⁸	החזיקו הכהנים ⁷⁹ (וואא)
	איש לנגד ביתו	אחריו החזיק דדוק בן-אמר ⁸⁰ (וואא)
	נגד ביתו	ואחריו החזיק שפעה בן-שכנה שער המזרח ⁸¹ (וואא)
	מדה שער	אחריו החזיק חנניה בן-שלמיה וחנן בן-צלף הששי ⁸² (וואא)
	נגד נשכתו	אחריו החזיק משלם בן-ברכיה ⁸³ (וואא)
עד בית הנתנים והרכליש ועד עלית הפנה	נגד שער המפקד	אחריו החזיק מליכיה בן-הצרפי ⁸⁴ (וואא)
לשער הבאן	ובן עלית הפנה ⁸⁵	החזיקו הצרפים והרכליש ⁸⁶ (וואא)

I

ועד מגדל המאה עד מגדל חננאל	את-שער הצאן המה קדשוהו ועמידו דלתתו קדשוהו	(i) יקם עלישע הכהן הגדול ואחז הכהנים ויבנו	A
		(ii) ועל-ידו בנו אנשי ירחו	
		(iii) ועל-ידו בנה זכור בן-אמרי	
	(iv) ואת שער הדגים חמה קדוהו ועמידו דלתתו מעולין ובריתו	(iv) בנו בני הסנאה	
		(v) ועל-ידם החזיק מרסות בני-אמריה בן-הקוף	B
		(vi) ועל-ידם החזיק משלם בן-ברכיה בן-משיובאל	
		(vii) ועל-ידם החזיק צדוק בן-בענא	
		(viii) ועל-ידם החזיקו המקועס ואדריהם לא-הביאו צרם בעדת אדנהם	
	(ix) ואת שער היסנה חמה קדוהו ועמידו דלתתו ומעולין ובריתו	(ix) החזיקו יידע בן-פסח ומשלם בן-בסודיה	
לכסא סחת עבר הנמר		(x) ועל-ידם החזיק מלשיה המבעט וידון המתני אנשי גבעון וממזמה	
		(xi) על-ידו החזיק עזיאל בן-חרהיה צורפים	
עד החומה חרתבה	ועובו ירושלם	(xii) ועל-ידו החזיק חנניה בן-הרקמים	C
		(xiii) ועל-ידם החזיק רפיה בן-חור שר חצי פלך ירושלם	
	ונגד ביתו	(xiv) ועל-ידם החזיק ידיה בן-חרומף	
		(xv) ועל-ידו החזיק חטוש בן-חשבטה	
	(xvi) מדה שנית ואת מגדל התגוררים	(xvi) החזיק מלכיה בן-חרם וחשוב בן-פחת מואב	
		(xvii) ועל-ידו החזיק שלם בן-הלוא שר חצי פלך ירושלם חמ וגנתיו	
	(xviii) ואת שער הגיא חמה בנוהו ועמידו דלתתו מעולין ובריתו	(xviii) החזיק חנון וישיבי זנוח	D
עד שער השפות	ואלף אמה בחומה		
	(xix) ואת שער האשפות ועמידו דלתתו מעולין ובריתו	(xix) החזיק מלכיה בן-דכב שר פלך בית-הכרם	E
לגן הסוף ועד-המעלות היוודות סעיר דויד	(xx) ואת שער העץ חמ ויבנו וישלנו ועמידו דלתתו מעולין ובריתו ואת חומת ברכת השלח	(xx) החזיק שלון בן-כל-חזה שר-פלך הסצפה	F

II